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A HISTORY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND

AN ACCOUNT OF
SCOTTISH SECONDARY EDUCATION FROM EARLY
TIMES TO THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1908

BY

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PREFACE

THE scope of this history extends considerably beyond the limits assigned by the title. As it is only within recent years that elementary, secondary, and University education in Scotland have been given clear definitions, and as the interaction of educational developments in different countries is much greater than a superficial inquiry would indicate, I have adverted freely to the history of elementary and University education, and, wherever it has seemed necessary or desirable, connected educational developments at home with corresponding developments abroad. But to avoid expanding the volume unduly I have excluded a considerable amount of available 'home' material—interesting and somewhat lighter reading, but not essential to the main purpose of the book—and have in general merely indicated parallelisms in other countries. Thus it seemed to me undesirable to do more than suggest the influence of the Hellenic movement in Germany in the eighteenth century on the educational developments in Scotland in the nineteenth, although there seems little doubt of its probability.

In the hope that the book will be of use to the student of education as well as to the general reader, and in particular to the student-teacher, who should be familiar with the significant historical antecedents of the educational system of to-day, I have quoted or indicated authorities for statements or inferences of importance; but such works as Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, with its multitude of facts, and Professor Edgar's exhaustive *History of Early Scottish Education*, are indispensable to the student of the particular subjects with which they deal.

For the post-Reformation period I have been fortunate in having access to documents and facts that throw additional light on a period in the history of Scottish education which, in some respects, is distinctive in the history of education in general.

I am especially indebted to Sir James Donaldson, Principal of St. Andrews University, not only for placing at my disposal rare and valuable records and allowing me to draw upon his store of wide and varied experience in education, but also for reading and criticising my work in manuscript. Professor Herkless of St. Andrews University has kindly read the history with special reference to its ecclesiastical aspect, and made several important suggestions and indicated certain authorities of which I was unaware. To Professor Darroch, of Edinburgh University, I am obliged for his frank and suggestive criticism of the subject matter. I have also to acknowledge the ready assistance of Mr. James Malloch, M.A., Director of Studies of the St. Andrews Provincial Committee, especially for his preparation of the Index, and of my colleague, Mr. John Yorston, M.A., who has undertaken the laborious task of proof-reading. I am also indebted to Mr. R. W. Chapman, of the Oxford University Press, for valuable suggestions when the book was in the press.

It should be added that this history is the development of a thesis of the same title accepted by the University of London. In its largely-expanded form, however, I fear it presents little more than the barest resemblance to the original.

J. S.

September, 1909.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

‘THE secondary school has a long history ; through a series of changes it goes back, in every European country, to the beginnings of civilized society in that country ; from the time when this society had any sort of organization, a certain sort of schools and schooling existed, and between that schooling and the schooling which the children of the richer class of society at this day receive there is an unbroken connexion’.¹ While direct evidence of the existence of schools in Scotland may be lacking in certain periods—as from the eighth to the twelfth century—such breaks serve to emphasize more strongly the continuity of a long chain of events stretching from the sixth century onwards.

In Scotland, as in other countries in Europe, education was for centuries closely associated with the Church. In early Christian and mediæval times the Church was practically the sole repository of learning. The central aim of the schools was the dissemination of Church teaching and dogma. Even the Scottish Universities, though somewhat late in their appearance, were projected at the call of the Church in the belief that they would act as bulwarks of the Catholic Faith. Although at the Reformation the connexion between the Roman Church and the Scottish schools was severed, yet a close association, equally important though not so pronounced, between the schools and the Reformed Church succeeded it. Strenuously the new Church attempted to support, protect, multiply, and develop the schools. Repeated appeals were made to the generosity of the nobles, but without effect ; and John Knox and his colleagues did not live to see their scheme of national educa-

¹ Arnold, *Schools and Universities*, p. 3.

tion realized. As an inspiration to succeeding generations, however, the ideal then set up can scarcely be over-estimated; educationalists in succeeding ages are constantly found reverting to it. The Church, notwithstanding the vicissitudes it experienced in the seventeenth century, continued to make good some claim to superintendence over schools until past the middle of the nineteenth century.

From an early period Scottish education has been strongly marked by three features: An intimate connexion between its elementary and secondary grades; the easy accessibility of its higher reaches; and the national character of its schools and Universities. To these might be added a fourth—at any rate from about the end of the fifteenth century—the communal control of education in the burghs.

Elementary and secondary education meet in that distinctly Scottish institution, the parish school. In an age of superstition and ignorance the parish school did great things. It offered to the son of the poorest peasant the possibility of a high career; it was to many the only avenue to higher education and the learned professions. Granted that sometimes, perhaps too often, it failed to supply the needs of its own parish, and that its lack of elasticity in course of time rendered it almost an anachronism, yet its work and the possibilities it made apparent have coloured much of the educational legislation of recent years.

The Universities of Scotland, on account of their number and geographical distribution, have placed within easy reach of all an education which, if not in all ages of the highest type, has been definitely beyond the schools. Differing in organization from the two great English Universities, they afforded opportunities which the latter never attempted to provide. With no entrance examination, as we now understand the term, for centuries they were open to all who chose to enter whether as graduating students or as students of particular subjects. The result was that in the middle of last century 'the ratio, in Scotland, of University students to the total population was more than twice what it was in Germany, nearly six times what it was in England.'

For many years graduation was not compulsory, nor was it attempted by all. While the scholarship may not have been high, it was widely diffused, and in this way assisted to promote in the country a high conception of the value of education.

The national character of the schools and Universities was equally pronounced. It was national in the sense that every rank or grade of society, from the poorest to the richest, for ages shared in common the education which the schools and Universities provided. Whether the parish school, the burgh or grammar school, or the University is considered, the result is the same. The laird's son is found associating on terms of equality with the plough-boy, the son of the manse is seen entering into friendly rivalry with the cottar's son—a rivalry often continued in the University, and a friendship seldom repudiated even when in later years fortune had not been equally kind to both.

Again, the local control of the Town Council over burgh and other schools in the town, which came to be so pronounced after the Reformation, was a factor which in a measure helped to create an interest in education throughout the country. In one sense there was a national system of education long before the great Act of 1872. Already the burgesses had provided out of the funds of the town for the upkeep of the schoolhouse or the payment of the schoolmaster's salary, and in some cases had made provision for the free schooling of the poor, so that when they were given the legal control over education in their burghs they were not unprepared for the duties and burdens which the State placed upon them. Much may be said in favour of local control. It kept alive the local interest, the traditions, the spirit of education at a time when such legislation as existed was practically inoperative. Without this control it is hardly conceivable that Scotland would have occupied the high position in education to which Macaulay in the middle of the last century paid so eloquent a tribute.¹

While in general the Scottish nation has shown a singular

¹ Speech in the House of Commons, April 19, 1847.

appreciation of the benefits of education, this has not been invariably the case. History shows some curious anomalies. At the Reformation the attitude of the Church towards education contrasts strongly with that of the barons; while, at a later period, the generous treatment of the poor student throws into relief the niggardly salary paid to the parish schoolmaster. Nor does a country which could produce a compulsory Education Act in the fifteenth century, and establish a national system of parish schools in the seventeenth, appear to be on the same plane as that which could allow the status of the parish schoolmaster, for the want of adequate remuneration, to sink so low as it did in the eighteenth, not to speak of the broken-down, dilapidated, and occasionally filthy buildings which in many towns and country districts served as schoolhouses in the same century. Happily such contrasts are rare.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century, if not before, the secondary school entered upon a new lease of life. The curriculum was modified and extended; new schools were erected all over the country; old ones were rebuilt. But the renaissance of the secondary school dates from the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Act of 1872 had done little for secondary education. For twenty years the majority of the secondary schools, poorly endowed, badly equipped, and almost totally devoid of organization, struggled to maintain a precarious existence. Meanwhile the 'elementary' school, by means of State aid, carried on the traditions of the old parish school, and began to develop advanced or higher departments, which, in the larger towns at least, compared, in respect of range and quality of work, very favourably with the higher-class schools which received no financial assistance from the State. And both types continued to feed the Universities. But a more generous treatment was at last accorded to the secondary school proper, and with State aid a remarkable expansion and development ensued. State assistance, however, has meant State supervision. Small in its beginning, but increasing *pari passu* with the financial aid given, State supervision

has in recent years been extended over practically the whole of secondary education in Scotland.

The outstanding feature of this period has been the growth in power of the Scotch Education Department. While local control still remains, the precise relation between the local and the central authorities, in respect of higher education, has still to be defined. This is one of many delicate problems in Scottish education awaiting solution in the future.

CHAPTER II

CELTIC INFLUENCES

AT an early date, education in Scotland is found associated with the Church ; but, while it is interesting to take note of such beginnings as showing some sort of continuity during a period extending over more than thirteen centuries, the account is not of much value from the point of view of development. Indeed, at one period, extending over more than three centuries, an almost complete blank occurs in Church history (731-1070), and consequently in the history of the schools ; for, down to the Reformation, and even beyond, a study of Scottish education implies a study of ecclesiastical polity and Church development.

Passing over the more or less legendary accounts of Ninian and Kentigern, we take as our starting-point the year 563 A.D., when Columba, with a small band of followers, having left the North of Ireland, then called Scotia, sailed to Iona, and there founded a monastery. Already, some fifty years before, this part of North Britain had been occupied by a band of Scots who had similarly crossed over. About this time the country, which had not yet acquired the name of Scotland, was inhabited by four distinct races or tribes : the Scots, the Angles, the Picts, and the Britons. During the next two centuries, from Iona as a source of missionary effort, Christianity gradually diffused itself over the mainland and western isles ; and wherever the monks settled they built churches or founded monasteries.¹ Perhaps the most interesting of these Columban foundations was the Monastery of

¹ Several monastic churches are referred to in Adamnan's *St. Columba*, e.g. i. 45 ; ii. 19 ; iii. 8 ; see Mackinnon, *Culture in Early Scotland*, p. 162 ; also *Book of Deer* (Spalding Club) cxxxvi, where the monastery of Turriff is referred to as 'one of the schools of the day'.

Lindisfarne, established by Aidan on the conversion of Northumbria to Christianity in the reign of Oswald (635).

But our main interest lies in the fact that second only to the work of Iona as a centre of ecclesiasticism ranks its work as an educational centre. 'Education soon became the great object to which the successors of St. Columba devoted themselves. Hither resorted the young from all the adjacent continents, from Scotland, from Ireland and England, and even from Scandinavia, to acquire the learning and study the discipline of the Columban Church.'¹ As to the details of this education much can be gleaned from the accounts of the life of Columba which have come down to us. The three duties of the monastic community were reading, writing, and labour.² Of Columba himself it is recorded that 'nullum etiam unius horae intervallum transire poterat, quo non aut orationi aut lectioni, vel scriptioni, vel etiam alicui operationi, incumberet.'³ Reading included the study not only of Holy Scriptures—which involved a knowledge of Latin and Greek⁴—but also of various ecclesiastical writings which for the most part, if not all, would be in Latin; an important task, too, was the memorizing of the book of Psalms.⁵ Another part of the daily routine was the transcription of the various texts in the possession of the monks. The founder himself excelled in penmanship, and so honourable was the employment that the title (*scriba*) was frequently added to enhance the celebrity of an abbot or bishop.⁶ Many churches were planted and in consequence a numerous supply of service books, which of course had to be copied by hand, would be required. But in addition to such books as these, which

¹ Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 100; also Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, i, p. 71.

² 'Labour' meant agriculture in its various branches.

³ Adamnan, *St. Columba* (Bannatyne Club), p. 9.

⁴ Mackinnon in his *Culture in Early Scotland*, p. 167, says, 'and Greek probably.' See also *The Expositor*, vol. x (Third Series), p. 138.

⁵ Bede says Aidan's followers, both *adtonsi* and *laici*, employed themselves 'aut legendis Scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis'. Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 5. See Adamnan, *St. Columba*, p. 352, footnote.

⁶ Adamnan, *St. Columba*, p. 365.

doubtless would be plain and unembellished, 'great labour was bestowed upon the ornamentation of some manuscripts, especially the sacred writings; and the Books of Kells and Durrow¹ are wonderful monuments of the conception, the skill, and the patience of the Columbian scribes in the seventh century'.²

There is every reason to believe that wherever monasteries were planted, as, for instance, at Abernethy, Dunkeld, Deer, Mortlach, Cloveth, St. Andrews, and Rosemarky, there the habits and practices of Iona were continued, and the monastery became not only a religious centre, but also a centre of education. Thus we read that Aidan, following the traditions of Iona, conducted the education of twelve English youths in Lindisfarne.³ While as schools they can hardly be considered efficient, yet to them the country was indebted for keeping alive the spirit of learning in an age of barbarism.

The Columban or Celtic Church was of a peculiar type. It was essentially monastic, and acknowledged as its head the Abbot of Iona. In no sense was it territorial as in the Roman Church system. Each monastery or church founded by Columban missionaries became a Christian colony, and all the colonies looked to Iona. Occasionally a monastery such as Mortlach controlled a group of churches in its vicinity, a system which had its parallel at a later period. But events were in progress which ultimately led to the extinction of this Celtic system; and as this had important results upon the schools and education it is necessary to consider it more closely.

When Columba settled in Iona he naturally introduced the practices to which he had been accustomed. But for many years Ireland had not been in touch with continental or Roman Christianity, and its Church had developed on lines differing somewhat from those of Rome. In the very year of Columba's death (597), there arrived in Kent the

¹ Durrow, Columba's chief Irish monastery in the parish of the diocese of Meath. Kells, in Meath, after the decline of Iona became the chief Columban monastery.

² Adamnan, *St. Columba*, p. 353.

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 26; see also Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, i. 213.

Roman missionary, St. Augustine. Thereafter, while the Celtic Church was extending southwards, the Roman Church made its way to the north, and in a few years the two met in Northumbria. Here the question of supremacy was raised, and, so far as Northumbria was concerned, was decided at the Synod of Whitby (664), when Oswy accepted the Roman system in preference to the Celtic.

Less than fifty years later (710), Nectan, King of the Picts, also adopted the teaching of Rome, and so helped to pave the way for the ultimate Romanization of the Celtic Church. This decision 'brought the north into close touch with the influences of a culture which could not have emanated from Iona or Ireland, however much credit we may reasonably give them for knowledge and piety'.¹ In course of time even Iona, the head quarters of the Celtic Faith, began to adopt the practices of Rome, and in consequence lost her former prestige. Finally, Constantine I, owing to the raids of the Northmen on the West in the ninth century, transferred the religious supremacy from Iona to Dunkeld.

Political events were also to a great extent responsible for the ultimate overthrow of the Columban Church. The union of the Picts and Scots in 844 under Kenneth MacAlpin, and the adoption by this king and his successors of a policy of aggression in Lothian, led to the acquisition of this territory by Malcolm II, in 1018. As a result, Scotland was brought into direct contact with Western civilization, and henceforward the decline of the Celtic Church was rapid. Already much of its lands had become secularized; the monastic communities were by this time considerably reduced;² and the greater part of the monastic endowments was held by lay magnates.

The accession of Malcolm III and the marriage of this king to the Saxon Margaret prepared the way to the complete assimilation of the Columban Church with the Roman. On

¹ Mackinnon, *Culture in Early Scotland*, p. 194.

² During the eleventh century the monks indeed became hereditary, 'marrying wives, and transmitting their monastic profession and benefice to their children.'—*Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. v, Preface, p. 61.

the one hand, Malcolm, as well as his successors, encouraged immigrant settlers who, owing to the Danish and Norman conquests in England, had found it expedient to leave that country and settle in Lothian; on the other, the Queen, a woman of great piety and with strong Catholic sympathies, did her utmost to bring the Church into line with the orthodox Roman type.¹ Her sons, too, were no less eager; with the result that in the reign of David I (1124-1153) the Church became to all intents and purposes Roman, and 'an almost completely equipped [Anglo-Catholic] Church was substituted for the native chaotic order of things'.² In consequence 'the monasteries were but colonies from English houses, abbots and monks being transplanted in whole communities from the south; even in the purely Celtic areas only in two or three cases do the first bishops bear Celtic names, their successors being invariably southrons'.³

Our interest in this gradual decline of the Celtic Church lies in its educational aspect. We have reason to believe that the monks throughout this period continued their functions as teachers. Nor was their teaching limited to young ecclesiastics. Bede states with reference to the points in dispute between the Roman and the Celtic Churches that King Nectan was induced to adopt the Roman Easter and tonsure from personal knowledge derived from a study of ecclesiastical writings.⁴ It has been stated, and with great plausibility, that this fact may be fairly 'adduced as a proof that in Northern Britain learning was not entirely confined to the clergy'.⁵ But, while the traditions of Iona with regard to education were in a measure maintained, Chalmers thinks that the new schools but ill supplied the loss of the Columban learning at Hy (Iona), and that the abbots of

¹ Margaret rebuilt the monastery of Iona, and we read that she sent her two daughters, Edith and Mary, to be educated and instructed in the sacred writings to her sister, who was a nun in Romsey Abbey.—Orderic Vital, *Hist. Eccles.* viii. 20.

² *Statutes of Scottish Church* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. xx.

³ *Ibid.* viii.

⁴ 'Admonitus ecclesiasticarum frequenti meditatione scripturarum,' Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* v. 21.

⁵ Grub, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, p. 115; see also Mackinnon, *Culture in Early Scotland*, p. 229.

Dunkeld were more renowned in the field than in the schools.¹

On the other hand, the gradual Romanization of the Church brought the Celtic schools in Scotland in course of time under those broader influences which were then moulding Continental education. This was the period when Charles the Great (768–814), on the Continent, and Alfred (871–901), in England, were developing their educational plans. The former, with Alcuin, the Northumbrian, as his adviser, had founded his palatine school, ‘a sort of imperial and itinerant academy which followed the court on its travels,’² and was even contemplating the planting of schools in every parish in his domains; while the latter had already co-operated with the Church in founding and fostering schools in different parts of the country. What education in Scotland was during this time and how it was affected by Continental developments can only be conjectured. For about three centuries after the close of Bede’s narrative (731) very little is known of Church history in Scotland, and practically nothing about the schools. But since the Catholicizing of the hitherto isolated Celtic Church had brought it into the main current of the life of Christendom it will be necessary to glance briefly at the educational developments which had been in progress on the Continent.

The great educational revival effected by Charles and his little band of scholars was succeeded by a period of intellectual darkness—the Dark Ages. Nevertheless the Carolingian reforms, which included the provision of a school for the education of young clerics in every monastery and cathedral, as well as the founding and opening of secondary schools with a higher range of subjects in the more important Houses, were not entirely suspended. Schools such as those at Tours, Fulda, Rheims, and St. Gall³ not only continued their work but attained to high efficiency and considerable

¹ Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, for example, was killed in battle in 1045.—Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i, p. 417, footnote.

² Compayré, *History of Pedagogy*, p. 72.

³ For an account of the indebtedness of some of these schools to Celtic learning, see Stokes’s articles on Ancient Celtic Expositors in *The Expositor*, vols. ix and x (Third Series).

repute, and to some extent discharged the functions of Universities. Whatever culture survived, however, was attributable entirely to the Church. The monks were practically the only teachers during this period, and so much in evidence were the followers of St. Benedict that his name has characterized the period as the Benedictine. The advent of the eleventh century, however, marks an important point in the intellectual history of Europe. A passion for study arose, and in this revival of learning can be traced the beginnings of that great Scholastic movement which was to loom so large in the history of education in the Middle Ages.¹

Although the education of this period was almost wholly of an ecclesiastical type, yet the plan and method adopted formed the basis of education in Europe for several centuries after. Even the scheme of education which the Reformers suggested at the Scottish Reformation in the sixteenth century bears some impress of the monkish course of studies of the eleventh. Primarily, the system turned upon the ability of the student to understand and expound Canonical Scripture, the Fathers, and other ecclesiastical writings. In this it differed little from the discipline enjoined by Columba; yet in so far as it embraced a preparatory course of secular instruction represented by the 'Seven Liberal Arts' it differed materially in scope from the Celtic scheme. These seven subjects were divided into the Trivium of arts proper and the Quadrivium of the sciences; the former consisting of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic; the latter of Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. Grammar embraced not only the rules and principles of Latin grammar, but also Latin literature. The course in Rhetoric included the study of various works on oratory and composition,² and often the elements of Roman Law. Geometry and Astronomy were useful in settling the date of Easter. But chief of all was the study of Dialectic or Logic, the niceties and subtleties of which provided an excellent instrument for sharpening the mediaeval intellect.

¹ See Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. i, p. 32.

² Such as the *Topica* (with the Commentary of Boethius), *De Oratore*, and *Ad Herennium*.—Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. i, p. 36.

CHAPTER III

CATHOLIC SUPREMACY

IN the preceding section we have considered the ecclesiastical and political factors which tended to bring the Celtic Church into close relationship with that of Rome ; for upon this the future development of education in Scotland depended. Definite information, however, regarding education and the schools in Scotland in that early Christian period is very meagre. But with the Romanization of the Church we meet at once with reliable documentary evidence in the form of Church records and chronicles—the Register, the Obit-Book, the Cartulary—and from the beginning of the twelfth century continuous and definite accounts are available. Then it is that the earliest documentary notices of the existence of schools appear. Such references are casual, and appear in various connexions ; but, as might be expected, invariably associated with the Church. One of the earliest occurs in connexion with the gift of Admore to the *Culdees*¹ of the island of Lochleven,² where one of the witnesses is Berbeadh, *Rector scholarum de Abyrnethyn*.³ At that time (c. 1100) Abernethy was an ecclesiastical centre, and famous for its learning. A little later (c. 1120), with

¹ Dr. Stuart says : ' It seems plain that the term *Culdee* was a popular designation of the members of various monastic bodies of early foundation in Scotland. When they appear with greater definiteness in records of the twelfth century, their character and position are the same with those of the monastic " families " in England, Ireland, and the Continent. They were monks living without rule, but with no obstacle in their position to their being received as members of the new foundations of regular canons, if they would agree to live canonically.'—*Book of Deer*, cxxi-cxxii.

² The Cartulary of St. Andrews states that Brude, the last king of the Picts, granted the Isle of Lochleven to the Keledei (Culdee) hermits living and serving God in that place. These Culdees founded an Abbey on this island, and from the time of Brude until they were expelled by David I they devoted themselves to religion and learning.

³ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 116.

reference to the welcome extended to Eadmer on his appointment to the See of St. Andrews, the scholars (*scholastici*) of the schools of the Church of St. Andrews are mentioned as being among those who were present.¹ Again, David I, in transferring the Abbey which he had founded at Selkirk to Kelso, granted to the abbot and convent all the churches and schools of Roxburgh, with their pertinents (c. 1150).² Similarly there exist references to the schools of Perth and Stirling (c. 1150),³ Lanark (1183),⁴ and Linlithgow (1187),⁵ and so on for the next two centuries. But to understand rightly these references, as well as to account for the origin of various types of schools which will come under our notice, it is necessary to examine a little more carefully into what is implied by the assimilation of the Celtic Church to the Roman. In this connexion three factors—the parish, the monastery, and the diocese—showing parallel lines of development, had their influence upon the development of the schools and each requires separate consideration.

The establishment of parishes definitely began with the immigration of Saxons and Normans during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Crown encouraged these settlers with gifts of land. If the manor already possessed a church, they adopted it; if not, a new one was erected.⁶ 'To each of these manorial churches the lord of the manor now made a grant of the tithes of his estate, and forthwith the manor tithed to its church became what we now call a parish.'⁷ In some cases the manor was subsequently split up into

¹ *Eadmeri Historia* (Rule), p. 283.

² *Liber S. Marie de Calchou* (Bannatyne Club), vol. i, p. 5.

³ 'Ecclesiam de Perth et illam de Striuelin et scolae et cetera omnia ad eas pertinentia,' *Registrum de Dumfermelyn*, No. 92, p. 56.

⁴ *Liber de Dryburgh*, No. 194, p. 249.

⁵ 'Ecclesiam de linlidcu . . . et scola eiusdem loci,' *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 63.

⁶ The following is an example: King Edgar bestowed Ednam or Ednamham on one of his Saxon followers, Thor the Long, when it was a wild and uninhabited district. Thor, having brought the land into cultivation, and settled his people upon it, at last erected a church in honour of St. Cuthbert, and conveyed it to the monks of Durham, in whose hands the district soon came to be the parish of Ednamham. *Book of Deer*, cxxxiii.

⁷ *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, Preface, xxvii-xxviii.

several lordships and each had its own church. Occasionally a burgh sprang up in the middle of a parish and a church had to be provided for it. While the parish church proper, with its tithes, did not make its appearance until the beginning of the twelfth century, nevertheless it has its parallel at a much earlier period in the Celtic churches which clustered round monasteries. Many of the churches of the smaller monasteries came to be converted into parish churches. 'The monastery of Mortlach, a house of early foundation, with its dependent monastery of Cloveth or Clova, continued to flourish till the time of David I, when both reappear in record as churches of districts'.¹

The educational interest lies in the fact that it is not unreasonable to suppose that these parish churches from quite an early date had schools connected with them ; often, indeed, the school would be held within the precincts of the church itself. Thus Reginald of Durham, a monk of the twelfth century, describes in the *Book of the Miracles of St. Cuthbert* a village school at Norham-on-Tweed, where some of the boys attended for love of learning, and others from fear of the rod. He says it was kept in the church of St. Cuthbert according to the practice common enough in his time. One of the boys, called Haldane, considering how he might escape the rod for his laziness, stole the key of the church and threw it into a pool called 'Padduwel', 'which almost seemed a sea for its immense profundity', conceiving that the school would thus be unable to meet. All attempts to break open the church door having failed, the master, much perturbed in spirit, retired for the night, but in a dream the Saint appeared to him and instructed him to proceed to the fishermen at Padduwel and 'buy at any price the first draught of their nets'. Next morning, on carrying out these instructions, he became the possessor of a huge salmon which on examination was found to have in its gills the missing key. What the cunning Haldane received the Latin Chronicler does not say. 'Nobody,' says Innes, 'can read that story without being satisfied that

¹ *Book of Deer*, p. ix.

it was a parish school for the parish boys, one of whom, a tricky fellow, thought to get rid of the restraint by stealing the church key, and throwing it into a deep pool of Tweed'.¹

Reference has been made above to the existence of schools at Abernethy, Perth, Stirling, Roxburgh, and Lanark, in the twelfth century, and the notices are such as to lead to the inference that many others besides these were in existence. As a further instance we may quote a casual reference, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, to the school at Dunblane, which had been accustomed to receive 'conveth', probably an allowance in the form of food,² in the vill of Eglesmagril, whose head, *Rex scholarum de Dumblayn*, and the scholars (*scolastici*) quitclaim their conveth for an annual payment of two shillings from the Bishop of Dunblane and his successors.³ The existence of this school and a similar one at Muthill has led to the suggestion that they were a survival of the ancient Celtic Christianity of that part of the country.⁴ Such parish schools, therefore, are as old as the parish system itself. Some, we shall find, come under the control of the monasteries, while others were managed by the Bishops of the various dioceses, and were more or less subject to their jurisdiction down to the Reformation.

The second factor we have to notice is the introduction of the monastic orders of Rome, the two most distinguished of which were the Benedictine monks and the Augustinian canons. Bound by the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the monks were not permitted to possess private property, but could hold lands and other property in common. Hence arose stately abbeys and priories, built by kings and nobles, and endowed with fertile lands. In Scotland a great number of monasteries were founded or

¹ *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus De Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, cap. lxxiii, pp. 149-50; and Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 270.

² In the nature of a fixed rent.

³ *Chartulary of Lindores Abbey* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), No. xlv, p. 49.

⁴ 'The name Macbeth borne by the "rex" of the schools at Dunblane and the name of Maldueny, which belonged to the "rex" of the schools of Muthill, suggest that these schools were a survival of the ancient Celtic Christianity of that part of the country.' *Ibid.*, p. lix.

refounded upon the ruins of the Columban monasteries, and the sons of Malcolm Canmore and the Saxon Margaret, more especially David, contributed towards this work. About the year 1097 Edgar restored Coldingham; Alexander I erected the Houses of Canons Regular at Scone, Loch Tay, and Inchcolm; David founded the priory of St. Andrews, the Abbeys of Dunfermline, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Holyrood, and several others; Walter Fitz-Alan, the Steward, established the great Abbey of Paisley. They were all liberally endowed, and monks were brought to them from the best religious houses in England and France. For the next three centuries the number of monasteries gradually increased, until at the Reformation at least one hundred and fifty were to be counted.

These religious houses were at one time the centres of all that existed of higher education and learning in Scotland. Our interest in them lies in the fact that they not only maintained schools within their walls, but controlled and even founded schools outside. With regard to the internal schools, there is reason to believe that some of them followed the practice common on the Continent, where from the beginning of the ninth century all the more famous monasteries 'had two distinct schools—one of its own *oblats*, the other for outsiders'.¹ We read that in 1260 the Lady of Molle made a grant to the abbot and convent of Kelso on condition that her son should be maintained 'with the better and worthier scholars who stay in the poorer house'²—a statement which points to the existence of two classes of scholars. However this may be, there is evidence enough to show that, even if there were not two distinct schools in the monastery, there were at Dunfermline, Melrose, Paisley, Arbroath, and other houses, 'cloistral schools, whose benefits were not entirely confined to the rising generation of ecclesiastics'.³

In addition to these internal schools, the character and work of which may perhaps be estimated by what Ferrerius

¹ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. i, p. 28.

² *Liber S. Marie de Calchou* (Bannatyne Club), vol. i, p. 142.

³ Edgar, *Early Scottish Education*, p. 76.

taught in Kinloss early in the sixteenth century,¹ the monastery had in various ways obtained control and jurisdiction over schools outside and even at a distance. Thus David I, on endowing the Abbey of Kelso, first founded at Selkirk, granted to the abbot and convent all the churches and schools of Roxburgh with all their pertinents, and a similar grant was made by Pope Gregory VIII to the priory of St. Andrews of the church of Linlithgow with the school of the same place (1187). Sometimes, indeed, special powers were granted to abbots to plant new schools in the neighbourhood of, or at a short distance from, their abbeys. For example, in the reign of Alexander II (1214-49), the Abbot of Lindores was granted permission by the Bishop of Brechin to found schools in the town of Dundee, and that this privilege was exercised is clear from documentary evidence dated 1434, which gives an account of a dispute between a priest, Sir Gilbert Kyncht, and the Bishop, whom apparently the priest had disobeyed by appealing in a matter concerning the school of Dundee to the Abbot who had collated him. This the Bishop resented, and Sir Gilbert had not only to withdraw his appeal but to resign his position, whereupon the Bishop collated another to the post.² Again, 'when the abbey was situated in or near a town, the growth of the Burgher class, and the demand for education among its members, in time necessitated the opening of a school in the town itself. This, doubtless, was the origin of the ancient Grammar School of Edinburgh, and of other schools, like Arbroath.'³ It should be noted, however, that the grammar schools connected with monasteries were secular schools, in many cases, if not all, taught by secular masters. Thus they were quite distinct from the schools of the monks.⁴

¹ Stuart, *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, pp. 52-6; Ferrerius settled in Kinloss in 1528.

² *Chartulary of Lindores*, p. lv, and *Registrum Episcop. Brechinensis*, vol. i, pp. 62-3.

³ Edgar, *Early Scottish Education*, p. 77, and Steven, *History of Edinburgh High School*, p. 3.

⁴ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 600, footnote 2:

'But with the rapid spread of education in the twelfth century there also grew up round the more famous Churches an increasing number of

We now come to the third factor, the introduction of diocesan Episcopacy. The Celtic Church was not territorial, and in this respect differed fundamentally from that of Rome. Consequently the country had not as yet been divided into ecclesiastical districts or dioceses. Indeed at the beginning of the twelfth century there was but one episcopal see, that of the 'Episcopus Scottorum', situated at St. Andrews, and quite incapable of supervising the whole of the country. But soon after a rapid expansion took place. Alexander I (1107-24) created two new dioceses, Dunkeld and Moray, and David (1124-53) six others. By the close of the century there were eleven effective bishoprics, and 'the organization of the Scottish Church and its secular clergy was indistinguishable, save for the lack of a metropolitan, from that of the Church of England'.¹ The Bishops were provided with revenues in much the same way as the abbeys had been endowed. Diocesan Episcopacy, thus established, introduced an important element into educational developments. In course of time the various dioceses were provided with cathedral churches and chapters, usually embracing a dean, archdeacon, chancellor, precentor, and other officials; the constitutions, too, of these cathedrals were practically all modelled on those in England. Glasgow and Dunkeld followed the constitution of Salisbury, while Moray adopted that of Lincoln. And, just as these English cathedrals were provided with schools, so *Cathedral* Schools were founded in connexion with Scottish cathedrals.

We have already seen that from an early date most of the cathedrals on the Continent had schools attached to them, a fact which was emphasized by a decree promulgated by the Third Lateran Council (1179), to the effect that each cathedral had to provide a teacher charged with the gratuitous instruction of the clergy of that church, and also

Masters anxious to obtain permission to teach Scholars who could afford to pay something for their education. Hence it became usual for the Scholasticus or Chancellor to grant a formal permission to other Masters to open Schools for their own profit in the neighbourhood of the Church.' *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 282-3.

¹ *Chartulary of Lindores Abbey* (1195-1479), p. xiv.

of the indigent scholars.¹ Thus the founding of Cathedral Schools was merely an extension to Scotland of certain Church developments which had already been effected abroad.

In Sarum among the duties of the Chancellor was included the control of the school. Likewise it was the duty of the Chancellor of Lincoln to license all teachers and to dispose of the schools. It is not surprising to find, therefore, a similar duty devolving upon the Chancellor of the Scottish cathedral. Among the statutes of the church of Aberdeen, enacted in 1256, the duties of the Chancellor in regard to schools are defined as follows: 'It belongs to the dignity of the Chancellor's office that he should supply a fit master who shall have the direction of the schools of Aberdeen, and know how to teach the boys both Grammar and Logic.'²

Similarly the Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow had his jurisdiction and powers in respect of the schools defined in the thirteenth century and again in the fourteenth.³ Towards the end of the next century (1494), he is found laying claim by statute and usage, 'ultra memoriam hominum', to the right of appointing and dismissing the master of the Grammar School of Glasgow and to the care and government of the school, so that without his license no one might lawfully keep a grammar school, or instruct scholars in Grammar, or youth in the elements of knowledge, either privily or publicly, in the city or in the University. In particular he sought and obtained an injunction from the Archbishop of Glasgow against a certain priest, Master David Dwne, keeping a grammar school without his permission.⁴

¹ 'Magistro qui clericos eiusdem ecclesie et scholares pauperes gratis doceat,' Compayré, *History of Pedagogy*, p. 69.

² 'Dignitas autem cancellarij est quod ipse providebit de ydoneo magistro qui habeat regimen scholarum de Aberden qui sciat pueros tam in grammatica quam in logica erudire,' *Registrum Episc. Aberdonensis*, vol. ii, p. 45.

³ *Registrum Episc. Glasguensis*, vol. i, p. 170 'Cancellarij officium est in scholis regendis et libris reparandis et corrigendis curam impendere, lectiones auscultare et terminare.'

⁴ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. i, p. 38, and *Registrum Episc. Glasguensis*, vol. ii, pp. 490-1.

An ordinance of the chapter of Moray, towards the end of the fifteenth century, gives emphasis to the same principle. It was enacted that a common school should be erected and built at Elgin in the place assigned for it by those who were bound to erect and build the same; and that the Chancellor should appoint and ordain a fit person to rule and govern the same, and to teach those who resorted to it, and instruct them in Grammar.¹

In the reign of David II (1329-71) there came into existence collegiate churches,² or provostries, which were instituted for the more orderly performance of divine worship and for the singing of masses for the souls of their founders and others. 'All the collegiate churches had originally schools connected with them, and probably, for this reason, the rents of several of them were granted.'³ Such schools were presumably directed by the provost. As examples we have the Grammar School of Crail established and endowed in 1542 by Sir David Bowman, prebendary of the altar of St. James the Apostle, in St. Mary's Collegiate Church.⁴ Three years later a Grammar School was founded in connexion with the College of Biggar, to which the founder appointed one of the prebendaries as teacher.

Thus the assimilation of the Scottish Church to the Roman had a considerable influence upon the future of education in Scotland. The parish gave rise to its own school, the monastery produced the abbey schools within and without its walls, while the division of the country into dioceses gave birth to cathedral and collegiate schools, and there is ample

¹ 'Generalis scola erigatur et edificetur per illos qui eam erigere et edificare deberent apud oppidum de Elgin in loco ad hoc alias assignato, et quod per dictum Cancellarium dicte ecclesie unus vir ydoneus deputetur et ordinetur cum effectu ad regendum et gubernandum eandem et ad eam venientes docendum instruendum et in grammatica informandum,' *Registrum Episc. Moraviensis*, p. 270.

² There were thirty-three of these churches in Scotland, of which the Chapel Royal of Stirling was the most opulent. The head of such a church was either a Dean, or a Provost or Præpositus. Lee, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Appendix No. IV, on the *Grammar School of Crail*.

evidence, although somewhat scattered and incidental, of the existence of these various classes of schools.

Before leaving this point it is well to notice that practically all the burghs of ancient standing in Scotland had their origin or development in some abbey, cathedral, or castle. Thus we find that Dunfermline and Paisley grew up around abbeys of these names; Glasgow came into importance through its connexion with the Cathedral; and Roxburgh and Dundee each had for its centre a castle of its own name. It is not difficult to see how the abbey or the cathedral would come to have the control and direction of the school in the burgh in its immediate vicinity, and when we consider the relation of Lindores Abbey to the founding of schools in Dundee, to which reference has already been made, we can understand readily enough the origin of schools in castle-burghs at some distance from an abbey or cathedral. But it is not necessary to look even so far as the abbey or cathedral. In all probability the schools of Roxburgh, which were transferred to Kelso Abbey,¹ had their origin in the churches which were handed over to the Abbey at the same time. The tendency of a church to associate with itself a school, which we have noticed in the case of the parishes, is without doubt the genesis of such schools; and that in course of time they came under the control of an abbey or cathedral merely shows that in Scotland, as in other European countries in that period, the characteristic tendencies of the feudal system had extended to the Church.

While at first the majority, if not all, of the pupils in the schools would be young ecclesiastics, yet from an early date there is evidence that others were educated in them. The Lady of Molle's son, referred to above, is one instance;² another is derived from the Exchequer Rolls, from which we learn that during the fourteenth century the sons of the Scottish nobility were frequently boarded in St. Andrews for their education.³ In the same century several gifts were made from the royal exchequer which, besides confirming

¹ See above, p. 14.

² p. 17.

³ J. M. Anderson, *University of St. Andrews*, p. 4.

the existence of schools, point to the interest taken in them by royalty. King Robert the Bruce is credited with endowing the schools at Montrose in 1329, on the grounds of an entry under this date in the Chamberlain Rolls to the effect that the treasurer paid 20s. to David of Montrose 'in auxilium ad Scolas'.¹ In the same year there appears an entry of a gift from the King to one Master Gilbert de Benachtyn—'causa studendi'.² A little later (1364) we find pecuniary assistance for food and clothing given by command of the King to a 'poor scholar',³ while twenty years later the schools of Haddington receive a similar notice in these Rolls.⁴

All the evidence indicates that until the end of the fourteenth century the school, as in other countries in Europe, was under the direction and superintendence of the Church; in some cases this meant the chancellor of the cathedral, in others, the abbot or prior of the monastery, or the provost of the collegiate church. It appears that in the ancient Scottish Church there were three grades of scholastic offices—the Scoloc, the Master of the Schools, and the Ferleiginn—which survived the ecclesiastical changes of Queen Margaret's time. The Scoloc—Scottish corruption of scholar (*scholasticus*)—was of lowest rank, and represented an ecclesiastical clerk. The *Magister Scholarum* was the next in importance, where the term Master appears to have been used synonymously with Rector. The Ferleiginn, or Lecturer, seems to have held the same position in the Irish and Scoto-Irish churches as the Chancellor in the English and Scoto-English churches from the twelfth century onwards.⁵ In most cases the Master of the Schools was a Churchman,⁶ and occupied a position of honour and dignity. At an early date (c. 1100) his name is associated with some of the magnates of the country.⁷ Sometimes he is

¹ *Chamberlain Rolls*, vol. i, p. 95.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

⁴ *Exchequer Rolls*, No. 85.

⁵ *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v, Preface, pp. 56-77.

⁶ 'From the eleventh century onwards, however, we find a tendency to make the Master of the Schools, as he was called, a regular member of the Cathedral body.' Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. i, p. 281.

⁷ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 116.

found acting as an arbiter or judge (1213);¹ at others, as an officer of the Crown, such as a collector of customs dues (1359);² while still later he is chosen as one of the deputies for electing the Rector of the University of Glasgow (1521).³

Throughout this period (1100-1400), Scotland was not in a condition, politically or socially, to make much progress in education. Outside of the Church there was no intellectual class; the political and economic conditions were wholly adverse to any extension of learning to other ranks of society. Scarcely had the ravages of the Northmen ceased with the collapse of Hakon's invasion (1263), when there began the long and disastrous war with England, during which the Lowlands were repeatedly devastated. Even the great victory of Bannockburn (1314), which incidentally added considerably to the movable wealth of the country, could not compensate for the mischief and destruction wrought by the invasions of Edward I. The barbarous inroads of Edward III, in which churches, villages, and towns were burnt or razed, followed by the destruction of the cities of Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee by Richard I (1385), took generations to repair. Pinkerton says that it is apparent that in the reign of Alexander III (1249-86) the kingdom was more abundant in the useful arts and manufactures than it was in the time of Robert III (1390-1406).⁴ 'Agriculture was ruined; and the very necessities of life were lost, when the principal lords had scarcely a bed to lie on'.⁵ Fordun and Hollinshed go the length of stating that the people for want of food were in some cases reduced to cannibalism. The weakness of the Crown, accentuated by the captivity of David II (1346-57); the usurpation of power by the barons and their utter lawlessness; the chronic feud between the Lowlanders and Highlanders—all combined to check the development of national life. In particular the

¹ *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet*, p. 229; cf. *Acts of Parliament*, vol. i, p. 87.

² *Exchequer Rolls*, No. 35.

³ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii, pp. 138-9.

⁴ Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 167.

⁵ Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 142.

effects were disastrous upon industrial expansion and municipal organization. Even the most prosperous towns of that period were only thinly populated. Dunfermline, so rich in historic associations, was in 1305 only a sorry wooden village belonging to the monastery.¹ Glasgow, in 1450, is said to have had not more than fifteen hundred inhabitants, the wealth of its citizens consisting in a 'few burrow-roods very ill-cultivated, and in some small cattle which fed on their commons'.² In the reign of David II, Edinburgh had not more than four hundred houses, which, indeed, were mere huts thatched with boughs.³ It is computed that even two centuries later (1572) Aberdeen had less than three thousand of a population. Thus we find an almost entire absence of those flourishing city communes which became centres of civilization in Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There, with increasing material prosperity, the cities showed an increasing intellectual vitality, which ultimately found expression in the Renaissance and the Reformation. But Scotland had not as yet entered upon this stage. With a baronage which had neither the leisure nor the taste for learning,⁴ with no great cities and the merest semblance of municipal life, with a clergy out of proportion in wealth and numbers to the rest of the population, it is not surprising to find that the mass of the people was almost wholly illiterate. The fifteenth century, however, gave the country an opportunity to recover, and we shall find in it not only a great expansion in educational agencies, but also evidences of greater activity in matters pertaining to learning on the part of the State, the Church, and the rising Burghs.

¹ Mercer, *History of Dunfermline*, p. 62.

² Gibson, *History of Glasgow*, p. 74.

³ Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 182; see footnote.

⁴ 'During the long period from the accession of Alexander the Third to the death of David the Second, it would be impossible, I believe, to produce a single instance of a Scottish baron who could sign his own name.' Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 353.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE fifteenth century is the period of transition from mediaeval to modern times. Gradually the intellectual system known as Scholasticism, which had dominated the curricula of the schools from about the eleventh century, was passing away. Formalistic teaching, with its syllogism and its appeal to the dogma of authority as opposed to reason, was being superseded by other educational ideals in which the Humanities, as in the early days of Scholasticism,¹ were holding a prominent place. The Crusades, the development of city communes, and the rise of a middle class, all contributed to the awakening of a spirit of freedom in Europe. The intellectual movement, sometimes known as the Renaissance, sometimes as the Revival of Learning, which had arisen in Italy in the fourteenth century, received a powerful impulse through the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (1453), and the consequent dispersal of Greek-speaking scholars throughout Europe.² A great stimulus was given to the study of the classics. Not only were the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome recovered in a purer form, and the barbarous translations previously in use discarded, but many manuscripts long hidden away were set in circulation, and an impetus was given to the study of

¹ 'The subsequent predominance of an all-absorbing Scholasticism has almost thrown into oblivion the fact that for about half a century [i.e. in the middle of the twelfth century] Classical Latin was taught—not merely to young boys, but to advanced students—with almost as much thoroughness in at least one school of medieval France, as it was afterwards taught in the Universities of the Reformation, or in the Jesuit Colleges of the Counter-reformation.' Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. i, pp. 63-4.

² 'The Humanism of Italy in the 15th century gave Europe its new secondary school curriculum.' Laurie, *Studies in Educational Opinion*, p. 15.

the Greek language in Western Europe. By the end of the century the work of the Humanists was beginning to bear fruit. In England a group of reformers, prominent among whom were Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet,¹ was striving to cultivate the study of Greek in the University of Oxford, where the New Learning was showing signs of vitality. In other respects, too, this century was noteworthy. The invention of the art of printing led to the publication of many thousands of books before the century ended; in 1492 Columbus made his voyage to America, and a little later Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape; while in the art of warfare, gunpowder, which had been invented in the fourteenth century, now came into general use with important and far-reaching results, not the least of which was the final blow it gave to the mediaeval feudal military system.

In Scotland the full force of the Renaissance did not appear until the following century; but nevertheless the fifteenth century is distinctive. The reigns of James I (1406-37) and James IV (1488-1513) mark definite advances in learning and literature. The former king, during his long captivity in England, had been imbued with the spirit of the new movement, and his education at the English court was not without its influence on Scottish civilization. He was a poet and scholar, and naturally became a patron of learning. His laws were written in the vernacular tongue and 'were well calculated to repress disorder, to promote industry, and to secure the comfort of his subjects'.² In James IV we have an enterprising and progressive king, under whom the country made considerable advances. The Spaniard Don Pedro de Ayala, who resided for a time at the King's court, relates that Scotland improved so much during this reign that it was worth three times more than formerly. He also states that the King's knowledge of languages was

¹ William Grocyn (d. 1519) was the first to teach Greek publicly at Oxford; Erasmus spoke of him as his 'patronus et praeceptor'; Thomas Linacre (d. 1524) founded the Royal College of Physicians, and was one of the earliest champions of the New Learning; John Colet founded St. Paul's School in 1509-12.

² Lee, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 19.

wonderful.¹ It was James IV who granted a charter to his 'lovitiss servitouris Walter Chepman and Andro Millar' to set up a printing-press in Scotland (1507).² Indeed, Dunbar, Gawin Douglas, and the 'Makars', who flourished about this time, made this period the golden age of Scottish literature. In particular, however, the founding of three Universities, the first appearance of an Education Act, and the first indication of the assertion of the burgh to the right of control of its school, make this century important in the history of Scottish education.

Notwithstanding the number of schools in the country, it was not until the second decade of the fifteenth century that the first University was established, and those Scottish students who wished to advance their studies had been practically compelled to go abroad for this purpose. Residence abroad was deemed indispensable to the student who wished to attain to eminence in letters—a custom which was long continued even after the means of higher education in Scotland had been considerably extended.

The system of Universities which spread like a network over Northern Europe had grown up out of the great Scholastic movement. It is probable that the latter part of the twelfth century saw the birth of the University of Paris, although it had no written statutes until the year 1208.³ The twelfth century, too, saw the foundation of the University of Oxford; while Cambridge followed early in the next century. Universities were also established from an early date in Geneva, Padua, Bologna, Louvain, and Pisa. We find Scottish students proceeding not only to the two great English Universities to prosecute their studies, but also to the more famous of the great schools on the Continent.⁴ The Scottish student was to be found everywhere, and Scottish Professors were met with in almost all the important centres of learning. John Duns Scotus

¹ *Calendar of State Papers (Spanish)*, ed. by Bergenroth, vol. i, p. 171.

² *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, vol. iii, p. 129.

³ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. i, p. 294.

⁴ See Irving, *Eminent Scotsmen*, pp. 48, 210, 328, 362, *et passim*.

(1264-1308), the realist Franciscan, studied at Oxford, had a brilliant career as lecturer in Paris, and founded the University of Cologne, where he soon afterwards died.¹ Michael Scott (1214-1300), a scholar and magician, is heard of in England, France, Spain, and Italy.² So many, on completing their courses of study in burgh or monastic schools, went abroad to find the higher education which was denied them at home, that in some of the foreign Universities special provision was made for Scottish students. Thus, in 1263, John de Balliol laid the foundation of a college in Oxford for the maintenance of certain poor Scottish students, which was completed by his widow, Devorguilla, about twenty years later. At Padua the Scots had a 'nation' to themselves. David, Bishop of Moray, in 1326, to meet the wants of students from his own diocese, founded a Scots College at Paris, which was subsequently opened up to all Scottish students.

At last the necessity for a home University became so urgent that a movement in this direction was made by Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, who, with the consent of Parliament, erected in St. Andrews, in the year 1411, a 'studium generale' for instruction in Theology, Canon and Civil Law, Medicine and the Liberal Arts, which was confirmed by a bull from Anti-Pope Benedict XIII two years later. Its constitution was modelled upon those of Paris and Bologna, the members or supposts being divided into nations, according to the district from which they came. This University long continued to be the most celebrated in Scotland, and 'for two centuries almost all the eminent men who appeared in this country were connected with it, either as teachers or pupils'.³ Apparently at first, although the Professors were without salaries, there was no lack of teachers. No special buildings were erected, the classes being held in such rooms as were available in the city. For example, we are told that Robert de Montrose gave a house for the students of Theology. On the return of James I, in

¹ Ibid., p. 122.

² Ibid., p. 461.

³ M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii, p. 337.

1424, from his captivity in England, the privileges of the University were confirmed by a royal charter, and the King himself showed much interest in the work and progress of the students.

The second University was founded in 1450, when James II, inspired by William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, earnestly solicited Pope Nicolas V to grant a bull authorizing the establishing of a University at Glasgow. Accordingly a bull was granted constituting a 'studium generale', the objects of which were stated to be the extension of the Catholic Faith, the promotion of virtue, and the cultivation of the understanding by the study of Theology, Canon and Civil Law, the Liberal Arts, and every other lawful faculty. The University was established in 1451 and a royal charter was granted by James II in 1453.

Similarly, at the request of James IV (1494), who was prompted by William Elphinston,¹ Bishop of Aberdeen, Pope Alexander VI granted a bull for the foundation of the University of Aberdeen. In the petition to the Pope an interesting side-light is thrown upon the state of education in the north, where dwell 'men rude and ignorant of letters and almost barbarous, who on account of the too great distance from the places in which Universities flourish, and the dangerous passage to such places, cannot have leisure for the study of letters'. The subjects of instruction were the same as those of Glasgow, with the addition of Medicine.²

The founding of three Universities in the fifteenth century had important consequences upon education in Scotland, and, so far as the Universities and grammar schools interact upon one another, it will be necessary to consider the 'Great Schools' as our subject develops. The establishment of such a comparatively large number—a fourth was added

¹ Bishop Elphinston seems to have been particularly attached to the study of law. He instituted two professorships in this subject, and is said to have been the suggestor of the Statute of 1496, given below, in which special mention is made of the study of law. *Statistical Account (Scot.), University of Aberdeen*, vol. xxi, p. 64.

² Tam in Theologia ac Iure Canonico et Civili, necnon Medicina et Artibus liberalibus quam quavis alia licita facultate.

towards the end of the sixteenth century—led in course of time to the overlapping of educational agencies. At first these Universities were in many respects little better than secondary schools. Even three centuries later an extraordinary dispute arose over the limits of University and grammar school curricula respectively.¹ Fewer Universities and the institution of a number of higher grammar schools or colleges, such as Knox suggested at the Reformation, would have rendered improbable some of the anomalies of later years. Nevertheless, though the Scottish Universities condescended to humbler work than the generality of Universities, they not only played an important part in the development of the intellectual life and education of the country, but have contributed no unimportant share to the wider field of learning and culture in Europe.

The various branches of study, as in the Continental Universities generally, were arranged in Faculties, and in the original constitutions the Faculties of Theology, Canon Law, Civil Law, Medicine, and Arts were contemplated, though probably not all in each University. Thus ample provision was to be made for an education leading to the learned professions of that age. But the system as originally planned was not realized until many years later. Notwithstanding the efforts to promote the study of Canon Law, the only Faculty which really flourished in those early days was that of Arts, then considered to be the necessary introduction to all the others.

Leaving the University and turning to the schools, we meet with a remarkable Act passed in 1496, in the reign of James IV. This famous and oft-quoted statute is deserving of the highest consideration, as 'it stands in the roll of our laws, a striking monument to the far-sighted wisdom of the prince in whose reign it was passed, and a prophetic anticipation of the future development of our national education'.² It reads as follows :—

It is statute and ordanit throw all the realme, that all barronis and frehaldaris, that ar of substance put thair

¹ See below, p. 156 et seq.

² Edgar, *Early Scottish Education*, p. 187.

eldest sonnys and airis to the sculis fra thai be aucht or nyne yeiris of age, and till remane at the grammer sculis, quhill thai be competentlie foundit and haue perfite latyne. And thereftir to remane thre yeris at the sculis of art and Jure, sua that thai may haue knowlege and vnderstanding of the lawis: Throw the quhilkis Justice may reigne vniuersalie throw all the realme: Sua that thai that ar Shereffis or Jugeis Ordinaris vnder the kingis hienes, may haue knowlege to do Justice, that the pure pepill suld haue na neid to seik our souerane lordis principale auditouris for ilk small Injure: And quhat baroun or frehaldar of substance, that haldis nocht his sone at the sculis, as said is, haifand na lauchfull essonye [excuse], bot failyeis heirin, fra knowlege may be gottin thair of, he sall pay to the king the soun of xx li.¹

It should be observed that this Act assumes the existence of sufficient grammar schools in Scotland to give an education which includes 'perfite latyne', and all the evidence goes to justify this assumption. As for the reference to the 'sculis of art and Jure', it is probable that it applies to the higher type of schools within the monasteries, to which we have already alluded, where it is practically certain that at least the art of charter-writing was cultivated. It is hardly possible that Law was taught in the grammar schools.² Even though the Act be hortative rather than legislative, as Burton suggests;³ and restricted rather than general in its application,⁴ it occupies the unique position in the history of Scottish education of being the first state legislation aiming at compulsory education. But like many

¹ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. ii, p. 238.

² See Mackay on 'History of Roman Law in Scotland', *Journal of Jurisprudence*, February 1876, p. 60.

It is interesting to read that James IV, in 1508, gifted certain lands during his pleasure to a certain Kanoch Williamson to maintain him 'at the skolis, and for to lere and study the kingis lawis of Scotland'. *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Iona Club), i, p. 22.

³ Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, vol. iii, p. 401.

⁴ Pinkerton says the Statute 'seems not to extend to the sons of peers, whose profession was arms and hunting, and who were to glory in their ignorance'. *History of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 423. Cf. Wodrow, who testifies to the care of the old Scots nobility and gentry 'in the sixteenth century, and even before, to give their sons liberall education'. *Lives of Reformers*, &c. (Maitland Club), vol. i, p. 4.

legislative enactments on education of a later date it seems to have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. At all events, in 1521 we find John Major complaining that 'the gentry educate their children neither in letters nor in morals'.¹

During the fifteenth century we meet with documentary evidence of the existence of other notable schools, as, for instance, in Dundee (1434). We learn, also, of schools at Brechin in 1485, and at Dumfries a little later. But a notice of the school in Peebles in 1464 attracts our attention. Hitherto all the schools to which we have referred have been under the direction, superintendence, and patronage of the Church, and the notices of appointments of masters by the Church authorities are sufficiently numerous to warrant the conclusion that it invariably exercised such powers. But in the case of Peebles we find that the *bailies and the neighbours* appointed Sir Wm. Blaklok schoolmaster of the burgh.² While the title shows that the teacher was a Churchman, this is the first recorded evidence of the patronage of a school being exercised by a burgh. From this date onwards the records show an increase in the claims of the towns for the patronage of the schools, but not without remonstrance on the part of the Church.

The stages of this development are well illustrated by the Aberdeen Grammar School. In 1418 the Chancellor of the Church of Aberdeen examined a candidate, presented to him by the Provost and community of the burgh, as to his sufficiency before he invested him with the office of Master

¹ 'The second fault I note is this: the gentry educate their children neither in letters nor in morals—no small calamity to the state. They ought to search out men learned in history, upright in character, and to them intrust the education of their children, so that even in tender age these may begin to form right habits, and act when they are mature in years like men endowed with reason.' Major, *History of Greater Britain* (vol. x, Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. 48. Note, however, that Major was abroad when the Act of 1496 was passed.

² We also read that in 1475 'Schyr Lowrans Johnson, sculmaster in that tyme' in Peebles 'mekly besocht the balyeis and the nychtburis that thai walde wochsawf to grant and gyf to hym a seruis in Haly Kyrk.' *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Peebles*, pp. 152 and 172-3.

of the Schools ;¹ while a century later, in 1509, Master John Merschell was appointed to his post by ' the provest, bailzeis, counsale, and communitie ' without reference to the Chancellor.² Apparently the Church resented this encroachment upon its former privileges, and a quarrel arose as to which possessed the patronage of the school—the Church or the burgh—and an appeal seems to have been made to Rome. In the sequel, however, Master John, in 1523, very humbly ' besoucht thaim (the Council) to pardone him, and confessit thaim that he haid the schoull of thame, and suld hald the samyn lik as his predicessouris haid downe in tyme bigane '.³ But the dispute was not yet settled. A few years later, in 1538, the post was once again vacant, and a candidate, Master Hew Munro, was appointed to it by the Town Council and ordered to go to the Chancellor and ' desyre his admissioun tharvpoun, conforme to our souerane lordis request '. But it so happened that the Chancellor had already selected his man—' callit Maister Robert Skeyne '—whom he begged the whole town to receive thankfully as being ' ane abill, conwenyent, discreit man '.⁴ As subsequent notices show, the Town Council's candidate received the post. Again, when Master Hew Munro retired in 1550, Master James Chalmer was elected by the Town Council and sent to the Chancellor for admission ' as vse hes bene tharrof in tymes bigane '.⁵ Thus we see even before the Reformation indications of the assertion of the town to the right of patronage of the grammar school ; but in general, the direction, superintendence, and patronage remained under the control of the Church.⁶

It is not difficult to understand why the Town Councils should have put forth a claim to a share in the management and patronage of the schools. The cost of providing and keeping in repair the school building, as well as the expenses

¹ *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), vol. i, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁶ In 1508 the Provost and Burgesses of Glasgow objected to the Chancellor's presentee, and claimed that the right of presentation to the Grammar School belonged to them. *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, vol. ii, p. 267.

of paying the salary of the master, had been undertaken by them from an early date. The burgh records of Aberdeen (1527)¹ and Edinburgh (1552) contain references to the provision by the town for the upkeep of the buildings; while frequent notices of the payment of certain sums to the teachers are found in the records of Aberdeen, (1433-8)² Dumbarton (1486),³ Ayr (1519), Edinburgh (1546), Peebles (1555), and Haddington (1559).

But whether the Church or the Council took the larger share of the superintendence both combined to protect and encourage the schools in their charge. In Edinburgh (1519) parents were forbidden, under penalties, to send their children to any school in the town other than the principal grammar school, while in 1524 the Abbot of Holyrood also forbade any one, other than the master of the principal grammar school, to teach grammar schools within the burgh.⁴ Similar instances occur in Aberdeen (1521), in Ayr (1550), and in numerous other towns.

It will be convenient at this stage to refer to two other classes of schools, the Sang School and the Lecture School, which are met with in many of the principal towns of Scotland before the Reformation. The earliest notice of the former occurs in connexion with the Church of Aberdeen about the middle of the thirteenth century.⁵ The object of the Sang School was to train boys for the service of the Church as choristers. In England, where a similar school existed under the name of Song School, the subjects of instruction included not only Music, but also Reading and Writing;⁶ in Scotland, however, the evidence does not point to this. Apparently the instruction was confined to Music, at all events before the Reformation. The expenses

¹ *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), vol. i, p. 120.

² *Miscellany of Spalding Club*, vol. v, p. 45.

³ In 1486 the burgh of Dumbarton gave four merks from the common mill, 'Domino Johanni Kerde probo Magistro Scolae Grammaticalis ejusdem.' *Burgh Charters*, quoted by M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii, p. 365, footnote.

⁴ Grant, *Burgh Schools*, p. 33.

⁵ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Spalding Club), vol. ii, p. 49.

⁶ Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, pp. 145-6.

connected with the Sang School seem to have been borne by the Town from an early date.¹ The Lecture or Reading School was concerned with the teaching of Reading and Writing. Precisely when it came into existence is not known. A notice, dated 1499, in the burgh records of Edinburgh points to the prevalence of schools, other than grammar schools, in that city at that time, and Grant thinks this to be in all probability the earliest record of Lecture Schools in Scotland.² A few years later, as we have seen, parents were forbidden to send their 'bairnis till ony particulare scule within this toun bot to the principall grammer scule of the samyn, to be techeit in ony science bot allanerlie grace buke prymer and plane donatt vnder the payne of xs to be tane of ilk nyctbour that brekis or dois in the contrair heirof'³ Again, in Stirling three years before the Reformation (1557) we read of an agreement 'betuix Master *William Gullein*, master of the Grammer Scule, on that ane part, and David Elles on that uthir part, in presens of the Counsall, that it sall nocht be lesum to the said David Elles to teche and lair ony barnis abon sax yeiris without licens of the said master, except tham that leris to reid or wryt and lay compt'.⁴

¹ *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. v, pp. 32, 33.

² Grant, *Burgh Schools*, p. 63.

³ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh (1403-1528)*, p. 194.

Donat, a general name given to a grammar originally written by Aelius Donatus, the celebrated preceptor of St. Jerome, who flourished in the fourth century. Andrew of Wyntoun, in his *Cronykil of Scotland*, writes:

'Donate than wes in his state,
And in that tyme hys libell wrate,
That now barnys oysys to lere
At thaire begynnyng off gramere:
And Saynct Jerome in thai yheris
The best wes callid off his scoleris.'

Cronykil of Scotland, ll. 3377-82.

Primer, a small service book in Latin (later in English), part of the contents of which children had to commit to memory. Chaucer, in his *Prioress's Tale*, writes:

'This litel child his litel book lernynge,
As he sat in the scole at his prymer.' ll. 64-5.
'Though that I for my prymer shal be shent,
And shal be beten thries in an houre.' ll. 89-90.

⁴ Hutchison, *High School of Stirling*, p. 12.

CHAPTER V

PRE-REFORMATION STUDIES.

WHILE positive information regarding the system of education in Scotland during the Middle Ages, particularly during early mediaeval times, is very meagre, there is no reason to believe that it differed in any essential point from that in vogue in other Catholic countries of Europe at that time. On the contrary, what evidence there is goes to prove that the course of education was much the same. In the sixteenth century, however, we are upon firmer ground ; definite and reliable accounts of the course of study in some of the Scottish schools and Universities during the first half of that century have been preserved. But, to comprehend with some degree of accuracy the mediaeval course of instruction and to estimate its value, it is necessary to form clear ideas on three points : the all-pervading and dominating influence of the Church in matters of education ; the universal recognition of Latin as an indispensable element in learning, and the influence of the ancient Trivium and Quadrivium in determining the scope of studies.

Learning and teaching in mediaeval times were essentially ecclesiastic. The Catholic Church in the Middle Ages practically controlled the schools and the Universities. Not until the Reformation was well in sight did the lay element of the community in Scotland begin to assert itself, and then only in the larger burghs. A moral and religious bent was given to almost every kind of instruction ; even the most elementary studies were strongly tinged with religious teaching. This is well illustrated by a late fourteenth-century poem, in which the A B C book is described as being fastened to a wooden board by five nails in token of Christ's death :

Quan a chyld to scole xal set be,
 A bok hym is browt,
 Naylyd on a brede of tre,
 That men callyt an abece,
 Pratylych i-wrout.
 Wrout is on the bok without
 .V. paraffys grete and stoute,
 Rolyd in rose-red;
 That is set withoutyn doute
 In tokenyng of Cristes ded.
 Red letter in parchemyn
 Makyth a chyld good and fyn
 Lettrys to loke & se.
 Be this bok men may dyvyne
 That Cristes body was ful of pyne
 That deyid on rode tre.
 On tre he was don ful blythe,
 With grete paraffys, that ben wondes. V. &c.¹

Again we note that the Horn-Book—a later development of the A B C—in its commonest form contained, in addition to the letters of the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer;² while the Grace-Book and Primer,³ already referred to, were essentially books of devotional exercises, which, together with the Latin grammar called the Donat, were the usual textbooks for beginners in pre-Reformation times.

Throughout the Middle Ages Latin was the means of communication among the educated, and the bond of freemasonry among scholars. All the important books, whether in law, medicine, theology, or philosophy, were written in this language. Thus a knowledge of Latin was essential for the highest professions, and fluency and readiness of expression in it practically constituted the hall-mark of mediaeval education. In the Universities the lectures were delivered in Latin—which means of communicating know-

¹ Harleian MS. 3954 (British Museum). See also Tuer, *History of the Horn-Book*, vol. ii, p. 105.

² The earliest record of the Horn-Book is about 1450. Ibid., vol. i, p. 5.

³ See *The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer-Book*, ed. by Littlehales (E.E.T.S.).

ledge, as Burton says, 'was not only a natural arrangement for teaching the familiar use of that language, but it was also evidently courted as a token of isolation from the illiterate, and a means of free communication throughout the learned world'.¹ So important was the ready command of this language thought to be that penalties were exacted from those students and pupils in Universities and grammar schools who neglected to speak it. In Germany, in the fifteenth century, spies, called 'lupi', were secretly appointed by Masters in the Universities to inform against students who spoke in their native tongue.²

But Latin was thought to be indispensable for more than the professional classes—a fact which the Act of 1496 recognized in ordaining that all 'barronis and frehaldaris' should send their eldest sons to the grammar school until they had 'perfite latyne'. Indeed, 'every one who was neither a mere soldier nor a mere handicraftsman wanted, not a smattering of grammar, but a living acquaintance with the tongue, as a spoken as well as a written language'.³

The key to the scope of mediaeval studies is the Seven Liberal Arts, comprising the Trivium of Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric, and the Quadrivium of Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy. These, together with the 'Three Philosophies'—natural, moral, and metaphysical—constituted the basis of the curriculum in the Scottish Universities down to recent times.

In early times Grammar meant not only Latin, but Latin literature, and occupied a position of importance in the school studies. But during the Middle Ages the term came to be restricted in its application, particularly in the Universities, where it often signified no more than the works of Priscian and Donatus, its former literary element being quite excluded. Although the first in order of study,

¹ Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, p. 182.

James Melvill, writing to his uncle, Andrew Melvill, in 1574, does so in Latin: 'I haid a letter in readines pennit at lainthe in Latin, the best I could.' James Melvill, *Diary*, p. 24.

² Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. ii, p. 627.

³ Leach, *English School*, p. 105.

Grammar was by no means the first in order of importance. The rules of Latin grammar and a vocabulary for conversational purposes were indispensable minima, but few students carried their study of Grammar beyond these. The outstanding subject of study in mediaeval times, and the one to which the ambitious student directed his attention, was Dialectic or Logic. These two subjects, therefore, defined the curriculum of the schools, and it is not a surprise to find that, more than a century and a half before the first Scottish University was founded, the Chancellor of the Church of Aberdeen was enjoined to provide for the School of the Burgh a master competent to teach both Grammar and Logic (1256).¹

At a subsequent date, probably soon after the founding of Universities, Logic was dropped from the grammar school curriculum. In 1489 the Chancellor of Moray was instructed to appoint to the School of Elgin a fit person to teach the pupils Grammar, no reference being made to Logic.² Still later (1553), in the Grammar School of Aberdeen, the regulations forbade a grammar pupil to have intercourse with a teacher of Logic.³ On the other hand, the Reformers, in their proposed scheme of education (1560), included Logic in the course of study to be given in the Colleges which were to be erected in all the important towns—a suggestion which does not seem to have borne any fruit. No doubt one of the reasons for the decline in the study of Logic in the grammar school was the renewed interest in Classics at the Renaissance. The invention of the art of printing, too, and the subsequent issue of beautifully printed copies of the Classics made the literature of ancient Greece and Rome more and more accessible to the student.⁴ These works proved an almost inexhaustible mine, and the study of

¹ See above, p. 20, footnote 2. The term *Grammar*, as applied to the School, seems to have been first used early in the fifteenth century, soon after the founding of the University of St. Andrews in 1411.

² *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, pp. 57, 270.

³ 'Nullus de grege Grammaticorum cum Dialectico agat.' Appendix II.

⁴ Printing was introduced into England in 1476, into Scotland in 1508.

Grammar entered upon a new phase in which accuracy and style and the *imitatio veterum* became conspicuous.

In the University, however, where Aristotle with endless Disputations practically composed the curriculum, the study of Classics found no place. 'The poets, the historians, the orators of ancient Rome, were considered unworthy of the attention of ripe students of fourteen or sixteen in the University Schools,'¹ and in the Scottish Universities this continued until well past the Reformation (1560).²

But, while the study of Logic as such fell out of the grammar school curriculum, the Disputation, which demanded at least an elementary knowledge of Logic, was continued. In the mediaeval University the Disputation was largely confined to questions in Theology, or Philosophy, or Law. As an exercise in the subtleties and technicalities of Dialectic it afforded ample scope for the talent of the scholar of that age, and gave 'a powerful and on the whole a beneficial impetus to University life'.³ In the school the Disputation gave the pupil not only an opportunity of displaying a command of Latin, but also a training in the elementary principles of Logic, which in those days took the place of the Mathematics of to-day. With the discarding of Logic from the grammar school curriculum, the Disputation came to be confined largely to the subjects of Grammar and Rhetoric, in which the boy-disputants propounded difficult questions in Latin, and debated and argued them in the same language. Doubtless the Disputations, which were held each day from five to six o'clock in the Grammar School of Aberdeen in 1553,

¹ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. i, p. 72.

² The following is the course of study in the University of Glasgow in 1500: *Old Logic*—the book of the Universals of Porphyrius, the *Praedica-menta* of Aristotle, the same author's two books *περὶ ἐμπνεύσεως*; *New Logic*—two books of the Prior Analytics, two of the Posterior, four of the Topics, and two of the book on Fallacies; *Philosophy*—eight books of the Physics and seven of the Metaphysics. These were the ordinary; the extraordinary were as follows: *Logic*—Peter Hispanus (text and categories), treatise on Distribution, &c.; *Philosophy*—three books on Meteorology, treatise on the Sphere, six books of the Ethics, Perspective, Arithmetic (*algorismus*), the principles of Geometry. *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii, p. 25; and Gregory Smith, *Days of James IV*, p. 72.

³ Latham, *The Action of Examinations*, p. 97.

were in the nature of these 'Grammatical Disputations'—an opinion which seems to be confirmed by the fact that the grammar pupils were enjoined to have no intercourse with a teacher of Logic.

In some of the Scottish grammar schools the Disputation survived until the eighteenth century. According to the regulation (c. 1660) of the Grammar School of Glasgow, the pupils were required to dispute every Saturday morning, while on Fridays 'fra fyve till sax', so read the rule, 'let them be prepairing for thair Sattarday's disputs'.¹ Among the regulations of the Grammar School of Aberdeen in 1700 we read: 'That on Saturday's foirnoon, there be Disputs repeating of rules and authors, publickly, out of the severall classes by course'.²

In pre-Reformation days the differentiation of education into elementary, secondary, and University had scarcely begun, although the Act of 1496 seems to mark off three divisions: before the age of eight, the grammar school course, and the higher course in the 'sculis of art and Jure'. But the first recorded attempt to grade studies is the scheme of education planned by the Reformers in the middle of the sixteenth century. More than a century after the Universities had been founded we find the work professed by Ferrerius in the Monastery of Kinloss (1540) quite up to the University standard.³

¹ Cleland and Muir, *High School of Glasgow*, p. 3.

² Morland Simpson, *Bon Record*, p. 165.

³ The following books are enumerated: Secundum librum De copia Erasmi. Item, Orationem Ciceronis pro Q. Ligario. Item, primum librum Officiorum Ciceronis. Item, Dialecticen Trapesontii. Item, libros decem Ethicorum Aristotelis. Item, Topica Ciceronis. Item, Rhetoricen minorem Melanchthonis, cum schematibus. Item, Rhetoricen Melanchthonis majorem. Item, Sphaeram a Sacrobosco. Item, Bucolica Virgillii. Item, Georgica. Item, librum primum De copia Erasmi. Item, Arithmeticam nostram. Item, dialogum primum Physicorum Fabri. Item, Universam logicam Aristotelis, cum praedicabilibus Porphyrii. Item, libros quinque Physicorum Aristotelis. Item, libros duo Politicorum Aristotelis. Item, primi libri Sententiarum decem distinctiones. Item, Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. Item, quinque primos libros Augustini De civitate Dei. Stuart, *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, p. 60; and Ferrerius, *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 49-50.

Some very interesting and, from the point of view of educational development, valuable accounts of the work in the schools and Universities of Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century have been preserved. In James Melville's Diary, under the date 1561-8, we find the following description of the course of instruction in a parish school a few miles outside of Montrose :

About the fyft yeir of my age, the Grate Buik was put in my hand, and when I was seavine, lytle therof haid I lernit at hame ; therfor my father put my eldest and onlie brother Daid, about a yeir and a halff in age aboue me, and me togidder to a kinsman and brother in the ministerie of his to scholl, a guid, lerned, kynd man, whome for thankfulness I name Mr Wilyam Gray, minister at Logie, Montrose. He haid a sistar, a godlie and honest matron, rewar of his hous, wha often rememberit me of my mother, and was a verie lowing mother to ws indeid. Ther was a guid number of gentle and honest mens berns of the cowntrey about, weill treaned vpe bathe in letters, godlines, and exercese of honest geams. Ther we lerned to reid the Catechisme, prayers, and scripture, to rehers the catechisme and prayers par ceur, also nottes of Scripture efter the reiding therof. . . . We lerned ther the Rudiments or the Latin grammair, withe the vocables in Latin and Frenche, also divers speitches in Frenche, with the reiding and right pronounciation of that tounge. We proceidit fordar to the Etymologie of Lilius, and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer ; therwith was ioyned Hunters Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus,¹ and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epist. of Horace ; also Cicero his epistles ad Terentiam. He haid a verie guid and profitable form of resoluing the authors, he teatched grammaticallie bathe according to the Etymologie and Syntax ; bot as for me, the trewth was, my ingyne and memorie war guid aneuche, bot my iudgment and understanding was as yit smored and dark, sa that the thing quhilk I gat was mair be rat ryme nor knowlage. Ther also we haid the aire guid, and fields reasonable near ; and be our maister war teatched to handle the bow for

¹ Erasmus's *Colloquies* were first published in 1519, and cover a great range of topics. The general purpose of the Colloquy was to teach not only Latin speaking and writing, but also morals and manners. See Parker, 'History of Classical Education,' in *Essays on a Liberal Education*, p. 22 et seq.

archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing ; also to rin, to loope, to swoum, to warsell, to proue pratteiks, euerie ane haiffing his matche and andagonist, bathe in our lessons and play.¹

From this *country* school Melville proceeded to the Grammar School of Montrose where he remained about two years (1569-70). Regarding this he says :

Sa I was put to the scholl of Montrose, finding, of God's guid providence, my auld mother, Mariorie Gray, wha parting from hir brother at his mariage, haid takin vpe hous and scholl for lasses in Montrose ; to hir I was welcome againe as hir awin sone. The maister of the scholl, a lerned, honest, kynd man, whom also for thankfulnes I name, Mr Andro Miln ; he was verie skilfull and diligent ; the first yeir he causit ws go throw the Rudiments againe, thereafter enter and pas throw the first part of Grammer of Sebastian, therwith we hard Phormionem Terentii, and war exerceisd in composition ; efter that entered to the second part, and hard therwith the Georgics of Wirgill, and dyvers vther things.²

Referring to his school work in Montrose, Melville says that he 'had tean delyt at the Grammer Schole to heir reid and sung the verses of Virgill, taken with the numbers therof', and confesses that he 'haid mikle of him par ceur'.³

Again, in the rules and regulations of the Aberdeen Grammar School, printed at the end of Vaus's *Rudimenta Artis Grammaticae*, which was issued in Paris in 1553,⁴ we have an indication not only of the scope of school studies in an important grammar school before the Reformation, but also

¹ In the University James Melville was equally keen on sport. Thus we read : 'Als I haid my necessars honestlie aneuche of my father, bot nocht els ; for archerie and goff, I haid bow, arrose, glub and bals, but nocht a purs for Catchpull and Tauern, sic was his fatherlie wesdom for my weill. Yit now and then I lernit and usit sa mikle bathe of the hand and Racket cathe as might serue for moderat and halsome exerceise of the body.' *Diary*, p. 23.

² James Melvill, *Diary* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 13, 14, 17.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴ John Vaus was the first Professor of Humanity in King's College, Aberdeen, but the precise date of his appointment does not seem to be known. The original edition of the *Rudiments* was published in Paris in 1522.

of its daily routine, internal economy, and discipline. The school opened and closed with devotional exercises. Each boy on entering had to repeat on his knees a prescribed prayer; while at the close of the school day prayers were to be sung to 'God, the best, the greatest'.

Work began at seven in the morning and continued until six in the afternoon, with two intervals—breakfast from nine to ten, and dinner from twelve to two. The head master taught the highest class, but whenever he saw fit he might hear the lessons of one or more of the other classes. He also prelected daily on Terence, Virgil, or Cicero 'to those who ought to attend'. At four o'clock the boys had to revise to their instructors the lessons of the day. From five to six an evening Disputation was held. Further, a Pythagorean silence of one year was enjoined upon elementary pupils and neophytes. The table of confession had to be learned by heart, and a moderate knowledge of arithmetic acquired. All had to speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Gaelic (Hybernice), never in the vernacular, at least with those who knew Latin. No grammarian might have intercourse with a dialectician.

Various laws regarding bartering, buying and selling among pupils, gambling, playing at dice, are detailed; nor was it lawful to play except under the supervision of the assistant master. Punishment was to be inflicted upon those who wantonly broke the peace, upon the disobedient, the late-comers, those with lessons unprepared, those who unnecessarily moved from place to place, chatterers during prelections, those speaking in the vernacular tongue,¹ those long absent from school, and the authors of mischief. Finally, quotations from Quintilian, Cicero, and Terence, concerning the duties of scholars, were appended to the regulations.²

From these extracts we can judge to what extent the spirit of the Renaissance had influenced the curriculum in

¹ The *Ratio Studiorum* of the Jesuits, published in 1599, forbids the use of the vernacular in conversation except on holidays. See Hughes, *Loyola*, chap. x et seq.

² For these Regulations in full, see Appendix II.

the school. Classics were 'teatched grammaticallie bathe according to the Etymologie and Syntax',¹ and Horace, Vergil, and Ovid figure among the authors read. Apparently, too, Greek and Hebrew had come into colloquial use, but to what extent we have little contemporary evidence to show.

On the other hand, it is not surprising to find that French had a footing in the schools. Not the least of the consequences of the Franco-Scottish alliance, entered into by John Balliol in 1295, was the effect it had upon the study of this language in Scotland. There can be little doubt that French was spoken in the country from the thirteenth century onwards.² Early in the next century so many Scottish students were resident in Paris that a Scots College had been founded there.³ Late in the fifteenth century (1498), Don Pedro de Ayala, then residing at the court of James IV, wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain as follows: 'There is a good deal of French education in Scotland, and many speak the French language. For all the young gentlemen who have no property go to France, and are well received there, and therefore the French are liked.'⁴ Some years before the Reformation (1553), as we have just seen, the boys in the Grammar School of Aberdeen, while prohibited from speaking in the vernacular tongue, were permitted to converse in French, and, as James Melville in his Diary shows, French was taught along with Latin grammar at Logie in 1561. About the same time, too, we have evidence that it was spoken by the boys of the Grammar School of Perth.⁵ It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that in 1559 a licence was granted to a certain William Nudrye to print 'Ane A B C for Scottis men to reid the frenche tounge with ane exhortatioun to the noblis of Scotland to fauour thair ald friendis'.⁶

¹ It is instructive to note that in the grammar schools in England in the same century a similar development was taking place. Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, p. 6.

² See Francisque-Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, vol. i.

³ See above, p. 24.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers (Spanish)*, ed. by Bergenroth, vol. i, p. 174.

⁵ See below, p. 49.

⁶ *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. xxx, p. 5. This same Wm. Nudrye was

Greek, as we have indicated above, was not unknown in Scotland in the early days of the Columban Church; but during the Middle Ages, in common with other countries in Western Europe, Scotland seems to have neglected the study of this language. In the early years of the sixteenth century, if not before, there is evidence that Greek was known by scholars in this country.¹ But the first record of any attempt to foster its teaching occurs in connexion with John Erskine of Dun. Wodrow, in his account of the life of this Reformer, says:

In Montrose, wher he had immediat influence, he got in learned persons, in the Greek and Latine tongues, to teach the youth, and contributed himself largely to encourage them, to leave France and setle here: particularly I find he placed a learned Frenchman, Petrus de Marsiliers, school-master at Monros, who was Mr Andrew Melvil's master in the Greek.²

In those days Montrose had considerable trade with France, and it would be quite natural for foreigners to land at this port. As John Erskine returned from his travels in 1534 it is not unreasonable to assume that in this year Greek was taught in Montrose. Four years later we read that George Wishart, the martyr, for teaching the Greek New

granted a licence at the same time to print the following other books 'for the better instruction of young children in the art of Grammar to be taught in schools'; Ane schort Introductionun Elementar digestit into sevin breve taiblis for the commodius expeditioun of thame that ar desirous to read and write the Scottis toung; Orthoepia trilinguis; Compendiariae Latinae linguae notae; Calographiae index; Tables manuall brevelie introducing the vnioun of the partis of orisoun in Greik and Latene speichis with thair accidentis; Meditationes in grammaticam dispauterianam; Meditationes in publicum memographum et sapientum dicta; Trilinguis literaturae Syntaxis; Trilinguis grammaticae quaestiones; Ane instructioun for bairnis to be lernit in Scottis and Latene; Ane regement for educatioun of zoung gentillmen in literature et virtuous exercitioun; The geneologie of Ingliche Britonis; Quotidiani Sermonis formulae; E Pub. Terentii Afri comediis discerpta. Quoted from M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. i, p. 418.

¹ In 1522 Boece mentions George Dundas as a good Greek scholar. M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, Appendix.

² Wodrow, *Biographical Collections* (Maitland Club), vol. i, p. 5. This biographer, when compiling Erskine's life (c. 1720), had access to some of his papers. M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, p. 3, footnote.

Testament in Montrose, was summoned to appear before the Bishop of Brechin on a charge of heresy, and sent into banishment.

Still later, James Melville, in his Diary (1556-1601), with reference to the education of his uncle, Andrew Melville, says:

Sa with the portion that was left him, he spendit a yeir or twa [1557-9] in Montrose, namlie, heiring a France man, called Petrus de Marsiliers, teache the Greik grammer, and sum thing of that langage, honestlie conducit to the sam as a rare thing in the countrey, nocht hard of befor, be that notable instrument in the kirk, Jhone Erskine of Done, of maist honorable and happie memorie; wherin he profited sa, that entering thereafter in the course of Philosophie within the Vniuersitie of St. Andros, all that wes teatched of Aristotle he lerned and studeit it out of the Greik text, quhilk his maisters vnderstood nocht.¹

But many years before Andrew Melville studied Greek with the 'France man' there is evidence that Greek was known—and probably taught—in other parts of the kingdom. Incidentally, Bishop Leslie, in giving an account of the visit of James V to Aberdeen in 1540,² and the reception accorded to the King and Queen, says: 'No day passed without their having either a comedy, or some controversy, or orations in Greek or Latin'.³

The importance of the study of Greek was recognized by the Reformers. In 1560, in the *First Book of Discipline*, John Knox proposed that Greek should be taught in the Colleges which, as we shall see, were to be erected in every notable

¹ James Melvill, Diary, p. 31.

² Innes puts the date of James's visit to Scotland at 1541.

³ Leslie, *De Origine Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 430. The following is Dalrymple's translation of this incident: 'The king efter with of the nobilitie nocht a few number til Aberdine gaue to the Quene the conuoy, and (*til*) the college thair: quhair the Burgesses and skolleris in diuerss offices, sum in publick triumphes, others in priuat exercises, intendet to set furth thair myndes and wilis efter thair power, as tha mycht. ffor na day past by quhen outhir tha had nocht a comedie, or sum controuersie, or orisounis in Greik or latin tounge artificiouslie said; with quhilk kynd of office, quhen the king and quene fyfteine dayes, out and out, with gret plesour, and grett prayse of the skolleris, to the Bishop gret thankes tha gaue and infinit.' *Historie of Scotland* (Scot. Text Soc.), vol. ii, pp. 246-7.

town. Anticipating events somewhat, we can see how little this was carried into effect from the testimony of James Melville, who was a student in the University of St. Andrews soon after the Reformation (1571-4):

I wald haiff glaidlie bein at the Greik and Hebrew touns, becauss I red in our Byble that it was translated out of Hebrew and Greik ; bot tha langages war nocht to be gottine in the land. Our Regent begoud and teatched ws the A, B, C, of the Greik and the simple declinationes, bot went no farder. Be that occasion he tauld me of my vncle, Mr Andro Meluill, whom he knew in the tyme of his course in the New Collage to vse the Greik logicks of Aristotle, to the quhilk was a wounder to tham that he was sa fyne a schollar, and of sic expectation.¹

The following extracts are of value not only for the light they throw upon the teaching of Hebrew in Scotland about the time of the Reformation, but also as offering further evidence of the extended teaching of languages in the country:

In those dayes [c. 1560] the gramer schoole of Perth was famous, many noble and gentle men sent their eldest sonnes to be educate there,² and many of them were tabled with Mr Johne Row,³ to be helped by him in their education. As they spake nothing in the schoole and feilds but Latine, so nothing was spoken in his house but French. The portion of scripture read befor and after meales, if it was in the Old Testament, was read in Hebrew, (for he was the first man that brought the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue to Scotland, and taught some of his children to read it, when they were of foure or fyve years of age,) Greeke, Latine, French, and English; if it was in the New Testament, it was read in these, [Greeke, Latine, French, and English].⁴

Again, with reference to John Row, the historian,⁵ we read:

In his younger yeares, his father being a great Hebrean,

¹ James Melvill, *Diary*, p. 24.

² There were more than 300 scholars in the school in 1558. Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society), pp. 7-8.

³ John Row, the Reformer, was Minister of Perth from 1560 to 1580.

⁴ Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society), pp. 455-6.

⁵ Minister of Carnoch and son of the Reformer.

and the man that first broght the knowledge of Hebrew letters to Scotland, tooke paines upon him, learning him the Hebrew letters, so that he could read Hebrew of seven yeares old, and did ordinarlie read at dinner or supper the chapter in Hebrew, their ordinar being in the Old Testament ; which moved the master of the gramer schoole to desire his father to learne him also to know the Hebrew letters : and when he wes put to the gramer schoole he taught his master to read and expone Hebrew ; for the whilk cause his master still called him *Magister Johannes Row*.

Some years later, on his entering the ' new erected Colledge in Edinburgh ', we read :

When he was entered to his classe, one of his condisciples in Perth cryed out, *Tu es Magister hactenus*. His Regent coming in, finding his scholers making sport at his condisciple's complement, wes angrie with them, and asking his condisciple why he called him *Magister Johannes*. He replied, That his master at Perth alwayes called him so, and that he could both read and expone Hebrew. The Regent himselfe being beginning to know Hebrew letters, past incontinentlie to his chamber and broght the Hebrew Psalter, desiring him to read and expone therein ; whilk he readilie and easilie did, telling his Regent that his father taught him when he wes seven or eight yeares old ; whereat his Regent wondered ; for at that tyme verie few had the knowledge of the Hebrew language [until] Mr Andro Melvill came to St. Andrewes.¹

Whatever may have been the standard of work taught in the monasteries in the early years of the Middle Ages—and there is no reason to believe it was inferior to that in Continental monasteries—it is clear that towards the Reformation, with perhaps one or two exceptions,² it had considerably declined. Indeed, it is highly improbable that, subsequent to the founding of the Scottish Universities, the monasteries, in general, provided teaching in advance of the grammar school. No severer indictment from the point of view of education could have been brought against the Clergy in 1549 than that of their own Provincial Council, which accused

¹ Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society), pp. 466, 467–8.

² See above, p. 42, footnote 3.

them of 'crass ignorance of literature and of all the liberal arts'.¹ And, if one may judge from a statute of the Scottish Church enacted in the same year, few monks were fit to proceed to the University. It is true that an effort was then made to remedy matters by enjoining the monasteries to send, in proportion to their resources, those 'having a special aptitude for literary studies and good natural abilities, to the nearest Universities or to others as it may please them, there to remain for the space at least of four years'; but the numbers suggested were only few.²

In the University the course of study extended over four years, and from an early date, precisely when is not known, the 'regenting' system, by which the regent carried his students through the whole of the work to graduation, was in operation. In the middle of the third year came the examination for the bachelor's degree, while at the end of the fourth year the student graduated master of arts.

James Melville, who went to the University of St. Andrews in 1571, about the age of fourteen, has left an account of his course of studies there which, although it refers to a period a few years after the Reformation, gives a fair idea of the University course in the early years of the sixteenth century. Notwithstanding that in 1563 it had been complained in Parliament that 'few sciences and speciallie thay that are maist necessare That is to say the toungis and humanitie ar in ane part not teicheit'³ in the Scottish Universities, little was done to remedy matters before Andrew Melville took up the Principalship of Glasgow University in 1574.

Entering the course of Philosophy under William Collace, who, as regent, carried him through the four years' curriculum, James Melville began with Cassander's Rhetoric; but, in his own words, 'nather being weill groundet in grammer, nor com to the yeirs of naturall judgment and

¹ 'Bonarum literarum et artium omnium crassa inscitia.' *Statutes of the Scottish Church* (Scottish History Society), p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

³ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. ii, p. 544.

understanding, I was cast in sic a greiff and dispear because I vnderstood nocht the regent's language in teatching, that I did nathing bot bursted and grat at his lessones.' After the regent had given him a 'compend of his awin' in Philosophy, he 'enterit in the Organ of Aristotle's Logics that yeir, and lernit till the Demonstrations'. In the second year the regent took 'the Demonstrations, the Topiks and the Sophist Captiones', while the 'Primarius' taught the four species of Arithmetic and something of the Sphere. Continuing, Melville says that in the third year he had the five books of the Ethics with the eight books of the Physics, and De Ortu et Interitu. 'That yeir we haid our Bachlar art according to the solemnities then vsed of Declamations, banqueting and playes.' In the fourth and last year of the course, when seventeen years of age, he had the books '*De Cælo* and *Mateors*' and the sphere more exactly taught by his own regent. In the third and fourth years of his course he heard 'the Comissar, Mr Wilyeam Skein, teatche Cicero de Legibus, and diuerss partes of the Institutiones of Justinian'. During these years, too, he learned Music, in which he took great delight, from a servant to the Primarius 'wha haid bein treaned vpe amangs the mounks in the Abbay'.¹

As a contrast to this we give an account by Erasmus of the education of Alexander Stewart, the son of James IV. No doubt the King, himself a cultured scholar,² would see that his son had what was considered at the time (c. 1510) the best liberal education of the day :

I once lived with the King's son in the city of Sens, and I there taught him Rhetoric and Greek. Heavens ! how quick, how attentive, how eager he was ; how many things could he undertake together ! At that time he studied law—a subject not very pleasing, because of its barbarous admix-

¹ James Melville, *Diary*, pp. 20, 22, 23.

² Don Pedro De Ayala relates that he spoke 'Latin, very well ; French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish.' In the same letter he continues : 'His knowledge of languages is wonderful. He is well read in the Bible and in some other devout books. He is a good historian. He has read many Latin and French histories, and profited by them, as he has a very good memory.' *Calendar of State Papers (Spanish)*, ed. by Bergenroth, vol. i, p. 169.

ture and the insufferable verbosity of its expounders. He attended lectures on Rhetoric, and followed out a prescribed theme, using alike his pen and his tongue. He learned Greek, and each day construed his stated task in a given time. He gave his afternoons to music, to the monochord, flute, or lute; and he sometimes sang while playing on a stringed instrument. Even at mealtime he was not forgetful of his studies. The chaplain (*sacristicus*) always read some good book, such as the Pontifical Decrees, St. Jerome, or St. Ambrose; nor was the reader interrupted, except when some of the doctors among whom he sat suggested aught, or when he made inquiry about something which he did not clearly understand. On the other hand, he liked tales, when they were brief, and when they treated of literary matters. Hence no portion of his life was spent without study, except the hours given to religion and to sleep. If he had any spare time . . . he spent it in reading history, for in that he took extreme delight. Thus it was that, though he was a youth scarcely eighteen years old, he excelled as much in every kind of learning as in all those qualities which we admire in a man.¹

Notwithstanding the provision for higher education in Scotland before the Reformation, we note that many of the Reformers were educated abroad, or at all events completed their education abroad. Thus the Regent Murray studied at Paris under Peter Ramus; Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, at Bourges; John Erskine of Dun first in Denmark and then under Melanchthon at Wittenberg; while Andrew Melville studied at Paris, Poitiers, and Geneva.²

¹ Erasmus, *Adagia*, see Gregory Smith, *The Days of James IV*, pp. 74-5.

² Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, p. 287; James Melvill, *Diary*, pp. 12, 31-2.

CHAPTER VI

THE REFORMATION

THE events which led up to the severance of the Scottish Church from Rome, however important in their consequences to education, can be treated only briefly in this history. For several centuries attacks had been made upon the corruptions of the mediaeval church. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio had denounced the follies, iniquities, and excesses of its clergy. The Lutheran revolt against Rome, with which are associated the names of Reuchlin, Melanchthon, and Hutten, came to a head at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Zurich, Geneva, Sweden, and England in succession broke away from Roman Catholicism. In Scotland the Reformation came later. Some attempts had been made to introduce the new doctrines into the country in the fifteenth century, but the nation was too strongly attached to the old faith. Indeed, as late as 1525, Parliament passed an Act prohibiting the introduction of Luther's writings.¹ The next year, however, Tyndale's translation of the New Testament found its way into the country, probably from the Low Countries. In 1543 the party in favour of an alliance with England and religious reform was so strong that an Act was passed by Parliament by which the people were allowed to read the Bible in a Scottish or English translation.² After the execution of Wishart and the murder

¹ All who came from abroad were forbidden to introduce 'ony bukis or werkis of the said Lutheris his discipillis or seruandis desputt or reherse his heresyis or opunyeouns bot geif It be to the confusioun therof and that be clerkis In the sculis alanerlie vnder the pane of escheting of ther schippis and gudis and putting of ther persouns in presoun'. This Act was renewed with additions in 1535. *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. ii, p. 295.

² It was declared lawful 'to haif the haly write baith the new testament and the auld in the vulgar tounge In Inglis or scottis of ane gude and trew translatioun'. The Archbishop of Glasgow dissented in the name of the rest of the prelates. *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. ii, p. 415.

of Beaton (1546), the significant fact in the history of the next few years was the growth of the estrangement between the Scots and their ancient allies, the French. Mary of Guise, the Queen-Regent, stood for French ascendancy and French religion. In opposition were the Protestant Lords, a powerful minority, and Scottish patriotism. The crisis came in 1557 when the Lords of the Congregation drew up their remarkable bond or covenant—‘the first manifesto of Protestantism in Scotland.’¹

Step by step the Reformation approached. The return of John Knox and the tumult in Perth, the plunder of the churches, the fall of the monasteries, and the death of the Queen-Regent marked some of the last stages. Finally the Scottish Parliament, which met in 1560, adopted the Confession of Faith, passed an Act against the mass, and abolished the authority of the Pope in Scotland.

Meanwhile Knox and some of the leading Reformers had been commissioned to prepare a scheme of Church organization, the fruits of which was the *First Book of Discipline*. In this remarkable book a comprehensive system of ecclesiastical polity was outlined, and proposals were made for a due disposal of the patrimony of the Church. Due care, too, was taken to provide for the continuance and extension of educational agencies—the schools and colleges—on Protestant lines. Unfortunately the greed of the Barons brought about the rejection of these foresighted measures. Although the Reformed Church was persistent in its efforts to conserve the patrimony of the old Church for religious and educational purposes, very little was saved. Practically the whole of the spoil went to nobles and the Crown.

Before considering the scheme of education proposed by John Knox and his colleagues in the *First Book of Discipline* it may be well to examine the educational problem presented to the Reformers in 1560.

Up to this date education had been almost wholly under the control of the Church. But the Clergy as a class had shown such a degree of illiteracy as to bring contempt not

¹ Hume Brown, *Life of John Knox*, vol. i, p. 326.

merely upon themselves but also upon the Church. Indeed the Reformation was in part a revolt against the degeneracy and ignorance of the Clergy. It is not difficult to see how this would react upon education. In the country districts, where everything depended upon the parish priest, it is not too much to suppose that very grave deficiencies in the means of education existed at the Reformation. Schools such as James Melville describes at Logie must have been the exception rather than the rule. Parish schools, as we have seen, were common enough long before the Reformation, and no doubt were still to be met with in many districts and in close connexion with the parish church. But it would be quite a mistake to suppose that the country was well supplied with them, or that the means of education in the landward districts were in any sense sufficient and adequate. If the history of the parish school system after the Reformation may be accepted as a safe analogy, there should be no hesitation in affirming that, when Knox approached the problem of Scottish education, parish schools, however different the facts may have been previously, were non-existent or very few in number.

In the towns, however, the case was different. The ill effects of an uneducated clergy were in a measure counteracted by the rising intelligence of the communities. Consequently we are not surprised to find that at the beginning of the sixteenth century all the burghs of any importance had their own burgh or grammar schools in which they were interested financially, and in which they were displaying an increasing concern as managers and patrons. Some were doubtless little better than parish schools; others, such as the Grammar Schools of Aberdeen or Edinburgh, were providing an education which would compare very favourably with similar schools in Europe at that time. It is clear, too, that, in larger towns at least, separate schools existed for the teaching of the rudiments. Over and above these, some account must be taken of the work which was being done in the schools in the monasteries, of which, unfortunately, we have very little positive evidence.

Finally, the Universities of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow—the latter had no sure footing—were providing higher courses of study of a pronouncedly mediaeval type, in which it appears that little account had been taken of the Humanities, and that Arts and perhaps Theology were alone showing signs of vitality. The Reformers, too, would be quite cognizant of the fact that many, as in pre-University days, were going abroad for their education; some for the whole of it, others merely to complete their studies.

The sweeping away of Catholic supremacy and the tacit assumption by the Reformed Church of control over education gave John Knox his opportunity, and as a result an admirable system of educational organization was prepared for the consideration of Parliament. The scheme itself shows that the Reformers had a clear grasp of the problem. It is a masterly sketch of a well-articulated system of graded schools carefully adapted to the then existing means of education in Scotland. First, we have an elementary course for children up to the age of eight; next, a grammar school course for pupils to the age of twelve; then, a college or higher grammar school to the age of sixteen; and, finally, a University Course to be completed about the age of twenty-four, after which the learner had to be removed to 'serve the Church or Commoun-wealth, unless he be fund a necessarie Reidare in the same Colledge or Universitie'.

In the sparsely-populated country districts—the 'Upaland, whaire the people convene to doctrine bot once in the weeke'—the Reformers proposed to appoint the reader or the minister in each parish to instruct the young children in the first rudiments, and especially in the Catechism.¹ Two years were thought to be sufficient for the pupils to learn to read, to answer to the catechism, and to have 'some entresse in the first rudimentis of Grammar'.

The next step involved a Grammar School in every town of any reputation, where instruction in 'Grammer and the Latine tounge' might be given in a course extending over

¹ That is, the translation of Calvin's Catechism.

three or four years. The schoolmaster was to be appointed by the Church.

As for the College, the Reformers proposed that one should be erected in every notable town, especially in the town of the Superintendent,¹ where a four years' course in the 'Artis, at least Logick and Rethorick, togidder with the Tongues'² should be taught by sufficient masters who were to be provided with 'honest stipendis'. At the same time provision was to be made for the poor 'to be sustened at letteris', especially those from the country districts.

All were to be compelled to attend school, rich and poor alike—the former at their own expense, the latter at the charge of the Church—until such time as 'tryell be tackin, whethir the spirit of docilitie be fund in them or not'.

No father was to be permitted to 'use his children at his awin fantasie, especiallie in thair youth-heade'; but all were to be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue. Such as were apt at letters were not to be permitted to give up their studies, but were to be charged to continue them 'sa that the Commoun-wealthe may have some confort by them'. Certain discreet, learned, and grave men—the ministers, elders, and best learned in the town—were to be appointed to visit the schools quarterly and 'tak examinatioun how the youth hath proffitted'. Pupils, who at the end of any course were not considered fit to proceed to further study, were to be sent to some handicraft or other profitable exercise, provided always that they had first received a due amount of religious teaching. Such was the scheme of organization for the elementary school, the grammar school, and the college.

At the end of the college course the pupil, on producing a satisfactory testimonial from the 'Maister of the Schole' and the minister, regarding his 'learnynge, docilitie, aige, and parentage', might enter as supposit into one of the

¹ Kirkwall, Channonrie of Ross, Argyle, Auld Abirdene, Brechin, Sanctandrois, Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Drumfreise.—*Works of Knox* (Laing), vol. ii, pp. 203-4.

² Greek is specifically named. It will be noticed that this is the ancient Trivium with the addition of Greek.

three 'great Schollis callit Universiteis'. It was intended that St. Andrews, with its three colleges, should be the principal seat of higher learning; Glasgow and Aberdeen were each to be provided with two colleges.

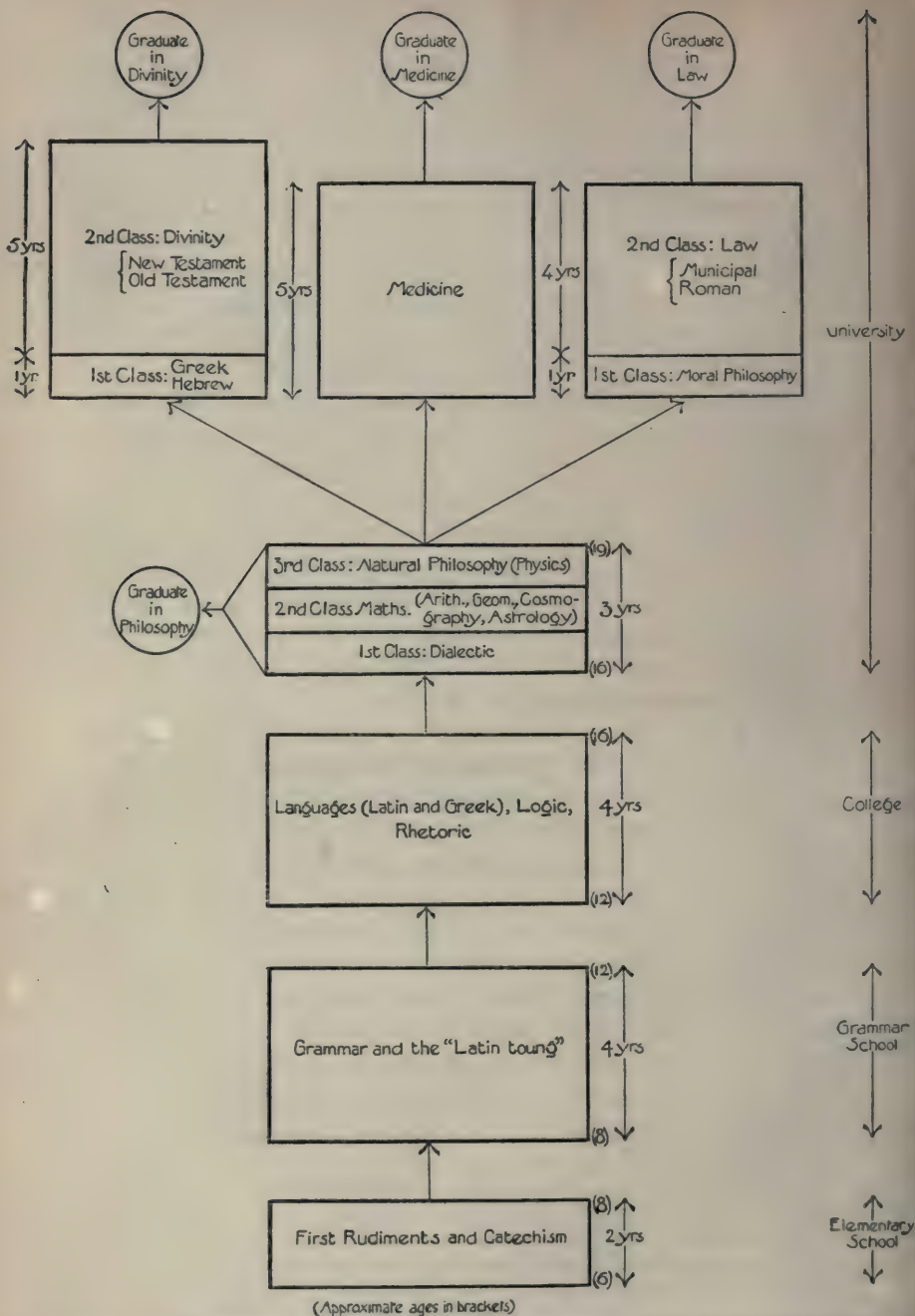
The proposed organization of St. Andrews was detailed in full. The first college provided a three years' course in Arts—Dialectic in the first year, Mathematics in the second, and Natural Philosophy in the third. All students had to take this course and to produce satisfactory evidence of spending their time well in it before being allowed to specialize in Medicine, Law, or Divinity. Those who at the end of the three years were found by trial and examination sufficiently instructed were to be allowed to graduate in Philosophy.

The student of Medicine was to remain in the first college and continue his studies for five years after the preliminary Arts course.¹ The Law student, on completing his three years in Arts, proceeded to the second college, where, after spending a year satisfactorily in Moral Philosophy, he entered upon a four years' study of Law. Likewise the Divinity student passed through the Arts course, studied Moral Philosophy in the second college, and Greek and Hebrew in the third—apparently all in one year—and being duly credited, thereafter spent other five years in the third college in the study of the Old and New Testaments.²

Such, in brief, was the scheme of the Reformers. It is scarcely to be expected that in detail it should square with modern ideas. Educational systems necessarily vary with the age. Even apart from a consideration such as this we confess to a feeling of disappointment that the Reformers were seemingly unable to shake themselves free from the traditions of the mediaeval curriculum. The Trivium, the Quadrivium, and the 'Three Philosophies' appear prominently in the College and Arts Courses. But in raising the age of entry to the University a distinct break was made

¹ Professor Hume Brown gives the duration of the course in Medicine as two years beyond the Philosophy course. *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii, p. 138.

² *Knox's Works* (Laing), vol. ii, pp. 208-16.



DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE REFORMERS' SCHEME OF EDUCATION

with the past. The possibility of students entering the University at the age of twelve or thirteen was not calculated to raise the standard of higher studies.

'Taken in detail, there was no part of their scheme which was strictly original. Where their merit lies was in the thoroughness, the comprehensiveness, the vigorous purpose with which they conceived the idea of national instruction as an organized whole. From no foreign source does it appear that they could have borrowed a model that would have met the objects they had in view.'¹ Class distinctions were not recognized; all were to meet on the same level; the only aristocracy was that of intellect. The main principles are clearly discernible, and it may be well to recapitulate them: (1) it was a national system; (2) education was graded from the primary school to the University; (3) all schools were to be periodically examined; (4) promotion depended upon successful effort; (5) provision was made for the free education of poor but clever pupils—principles which are now deemed essential in any sound scheme of educational organization.

The function of the Burghs and Town Councils in the proposed scheme does not appear, but it is significant that the proposals were embodied in a subsection under the head of provision for ministers and for the distribution of the 'Rentis and Possessionis justlie appertenying to the Kirk'.² It is clear that the Reformers viewed education as a phase of Church organization.

A system based upon purely secular teaching was perhaps unthinkable to those earnest men. Just as a Kirk was to be planted in every parish, so was there to be a school in connexion with that Kirk, and more or less dependent

¹ Hume Brown, *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii, pp. 135-6. For the relation of Geneva to Scottish education see Hume Brown, *Life of Buchanan*, chap. xv.

² Again, under the head of the 'Rentis and Patrimony of the Kirk', we find it stated: 'These twa sortis of men, that is to say, the Ministers and the Pure, togidder with the Schollis, when ordour sall be taken thairanent, must be sustened upoun the chargeis of the Church.' *Knox's Works*, vol. ii, p. 221.

upon it. The grammar school master was to be appointed by the Church ; the appointment of a University principal had to be confirmed by the Superintendent ; the ministers were to take part in the examination of the schools. As subsequent events show, the General Assembly adopted this principle of Church supervision of education, and even assumed the rôle of an education authority. It submitted proposals regarding education to Parliament, interpreted Parliamentary legislation relating to education, and on its own initiative, and without any specific Parliamentary injunction, enforced the planting of schools when and wherever it could.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that, if these proposals had been adopted, Scotland would have gained in the sixteenth century an educational organization, so far as the schools were concerned, of immense potentiality. No doubt the curriculum was somewhat stereotyped and rigid, but elasticity would have come as ideas on education broadened. The material point was that the organization was there. Although the *First Book of Discipline*, and with it the proposals regarding education, was rejected by Parliament, the influence of the Reformers' scheme, representing as it did a system quite capable of realization if only the necessary funds were forthcoming, can clearly be traced in subsequent Church and Parliamentary legislation.

But several centuries had to elapse before the grading of schools, the founding of higher grammar schools, the school in every parish, which John Knox so eagerly desired, were incorporated in the educational system of Scotland. On the contrary, the country remained devoid of any systematic and organic correlation of educational agencies. A graded course of instruction culminating in the University did not exist. Pupils passed to the University not only from the grammar school but directly from the parish school. And this connexion between the University and the parish school remained for centuries a distinctive feature of Scottish education. In consequence, although the main interest of this history is centred in the grammar school and its develop-

ment, it will be necessary to follow the gradual evolution of the parish school, and schools similar to it, as an element contributing to the sum total of secondary education in Scotland.

We have seen that as early as the fifteenth century the grammar school had shown symptoms of breaking away from the control of the Church ; but, in general, for the next three centuries the control is a dual one. The Church lays claim to the superintendence outlined in the Reformers' scheme and usually makes good its claim ; the Town Council attempts to keep the patronage in its own hands. Occasionally the town repudiates the supervision of the Church, and at times the Church exercises the privilege of patronage. While this holds good for the smaller and less important towns, the larger burghs do not appear to have been subject, in anything like the same degree, to the superintendence of the Church. There is no such distinction in the case of the parish school, which from early days was entirely controlled by the Church. From the Reformation to the end of the sixteenth century many references to the school are to be found in the records of the Church and the Town Councils, and the influence of the *First Book of Discipline* upon education is not difficult to follow.

CHAPTER VII

THE EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION

THE second half of the sixteenth century was a period of religious and political unrest in Scotland. Down to the death of Knox it assumed the form of a struggle between Protestantism and Romanism. For the next twenty years Prelacy contended with Presbyterianism. At length the Act of 1592, the 'Magna Carta of the Presbyterian Church', gave legal sanction to the Presbyterian Courts. But this was not the end of the matter; for, soon after the union of the crowns (1603), Episcopacy was re-established. Thereafter, the alternation of Presbyterianism with Episcopacy continued for almost a century.

Meanwhile the full effects of the Reformation upon education, as upon the Church, were not immediately apparent. The sweeping away of Catholic supremacy and the ineffectual efforts of the Reformers to introduce a national system of education controlled by the Reformed Church prepared the way for an increase in the power of the Town Council over the schools, and during the next fifty years we find the claims of both parties crystallizing out in definite forms. The Town Council, if it had not already done so, at once assumed the right of patronage and management of the schools in its own burgh. No longer had the Church the practically exclusive control of the burgh schools, and what the Church lost the Town Council gained. It will therefore be necessary, in examining more fully the effects of the Reformation upon education, to consider the matter from the points of view of the Church, the Town Council, the School, and the University.

At the outset a clear distinction must be drawn between Church legislation and Parliamentary legislation. It is sometimes not easy to understand the position assumed by the

Church. The truth is, the mediaeval conception of the relations between Church and State was still the dominant note at the Reformation. 'A Church distinct from and independent of the State was a conception quite alien to the modes of thinking which prevailed among the Reformers. On the other side, a government distinct and independent of the Church was an idea scarcely entertained by the statesmen of the sixteenth century. They all seemed to be more or less possessed with the notions common to theocracies, that the Church and the State, as being both under the direction of God, should be associated together.'¹ Consequently the Church is found enacting and enforcing laws relating to education, thus exercising a prerogative now claimed by the State. Whether such powers were assumed as a heritage or whether they were given by law, the fact remains that, with perhaps one exception, in no Protestant country was the authority of the Church over education so great as in Scotland.

From its beginning the Reformed Church adopted the theory of Knox—Church supervision of education—and made it its controlling policy. Repeatedly and insistently it urged its claims upon Parliament. From the point of view of the Reformers, religion and education were, if not one, at least complementary. Without the control of the school the Church could not properly develop; without the religious teaching of the Church the school would fail as an educational agent. The language of the *First Book of Discipline* is clear and unmistakable:

Seing that God hath determined that his Churche heir in earth, shallbe tawght not be angellis but by men; and seing that men ar born ignorant of all godlynes; and seing, also, now God ceassith to illuminat men miraculuslie, suddanlie changeing thame, as that he did his Apostlis and utheris in the Primitive Churche: off necessitie it is that your Honouris be most cairfull for the virtuous educatioun, and godlie upbringing of the youth of this Realme, yf eathir ye now thirst unfeanedlie [for] the advancement of Christis glorie, or yit desire the continewance of his benefits to the generatioun following. For as the youth must succeed till

¹ Mackintosh, *History of Civilization in Scotland*, vol. II, p. 165.

us, so aucht we to be cairfull that thei have the knowlege and eruditoun, to proffit and confort that whiche aucht to be most deare to us, to wit, the Church and Spouse of the Lord Jesus.¹

The Church took this as the basis of its relations with the school and displayed a remarkable assiduity in attempting to realize it in practice. *The Booke of the Universall Kirk* gives numerous illustrations in point. In 1563 the General Assembly appointed commissions to place schoolmasters in Moray, Banff, and 'the countreis adjacent'.² A few years later, visitors were chosen for the schools of Caithness and Sutherland, and power was given them to appoint masters and readers and to suspend those who were found unworthy of or not apt for their office. The maintenance of schools and poor scholars out of Church endowments, the teinds, annual rents, altarages, and obits of priests was repeatedly urged. It was ordained that none should instruct the youth but those that 'professe Chrysts true religioun now publicklye preached'.³ But chief among the 'Education' Acts of the Church in those early years of the Reformation was the one which decreed 'that none be permittit to have charge of schooles, colledges or universities or yet privatlie or publicklye to instruct the youth, but such as salbe tryed be the superintendents or visitors of the church, found sound and abill in doctrine, and admittit be them to ther charges' (1565).⁴

So far the Church had acted on its own authority, but soon after the abdication of Queen Mary (1567) Parliament passed an Act 'anent thame that salbe teicheris of the youth in Sculis'⁵ which gave colour to the claims of the Church to legal jurisdiction over education. It reads as follows :

Forsamekle, as be all Lawis and constitutionis it is prouydit, that the youth be brocht vp and instructit in the

¹ *Knox's Works* (Laing), vol. ii, p. 209.

² *Booke of the Universall Kirk* (Bannatyne Club), p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴ *Acts of Parliament* (Scot.), vol. iii, p. 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

feir of God, and gude maneris : and gif it be vtherwyse, it is tinsell baith of thair bodyis and saulis, gif Goddis worde be not rutit in thame. Quhairfoir, our Souerane Lord, with auise of my Lord Regent, and thre Estatis of this present Parliament, hes statute and ordanit, that all Sculis to Burgh and land, and all vniuersiteis, and Collegis be reformat : And that nane be permittit nor admittit to haue charge and cure thair of in tyme cuming, nor to instruct the youth priuatlie or oppinlie : bot sic as salbe tryit be the Superintendentis¹ or visitouris of the Kirk.

Fortified by this Statute the Reformed Church reasserted its claims. It assumed the superintendence exercised by its predecessor. It planted schools, supervised and subsidized them, took trial of the schoolmaster and saw that he conformed to its discipline.² All schoolmasters who refused to subscribe the Confession of Faith were liable to dismissal, and the Church took care to carry this into effect. Among others, schoolmasters were dismissed at Linlithgow, Arbroath, and Dumfries. It railed against the 'wrangous using of the patrimonie of the Kirk' to the great hurt of the ministry, the schools, and the poor,³ and urged that certain common lands should be applied for purposes of education.⁴ It looked to the schools as 'the fountaine fra the quhilk Ministers must flow' (1575)⁵; ordained the 'visitation of Colledges, Schooles, and Hospitals' (1578); suspended certain teachers in Dumfries for teaching popery (1579); enacted that masters, regents, and teachers of

¹ This office of Superintendent had never been sanctioned by Parliament, and was looked upon probably as a temporary expedient during the period of transition from the old Church to the new. In 1581 it was formally abolished; but, curiously enough, a little later in the same year Parliament passed a statute ratifying the Act just quoted, and thus committed the oversight of the schools to an officer not recognized as existing in the Church. 'This point was of considerable importance, and it involved the question, whether the power of reviewing the judgements of presbyteries, in reference to such matters, lay with the superior church judicatories, or pertained to the Supreme Civil Court.' Dunlop, *Parochial Law*, p. 485.

² The Act extended also to the Universities. In 1569 Alexander Anderson, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and the other Professors, were expelled 'on account of their adherence to Popery'. *Statistical Account*, vol. xxi, King's College, p. 68.

³ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 253.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

schools 'in reiding of profane wryters, sall vigilantlie take heid, if ther be any thing alledgit or wrytin in them against the grounds or heids of religioun' and admonish the youth to eschew the same (1583);¹ prohibited schoolmasters from receiving in their schools 'any students or scholers, being of maturitie of age, quho refuses to subscryve the true religioun presentlie establischt and profest' (1587);² maintained that the causes of the defection from the true religion were due not only to 'the decay of Schooles and of the educatioun of the youth in knowledge of good letters and godliness, speciallie a landwart, for lake of provisioun sufficient to intertaine a qualified Schoolemaster in places neidfull', but also to the sending of noblemen's children out of the country to be educated in charge of pedagogues suspected of papistry. It further ordained every Presbytery with regard to the grammar schools in towns 'to deale with the Magistrats for augmentatioun of thair stipends and provisioun of Maisters'.³ In the *Second Book of Discipline*, under the heading, 'Of the Patrimonie of the Kirk, and Distributioun thairof,' mention is made of 'scoles and scolemasteris also, quhilk aucht and may be weill sustenit of the same guidis, and ar comprehendit vndir the cleargie', and it was defined as one of the duties of 'ane Christiane Magistrat in the Kirk, to see that sufficient prouisioun be maid for the ministrie, scoles, and the pure'.⁴

The Church, too, took up the question of making provision for bursars. 'All prouestreis, prebendaries or chaipel-lanries', according to their values, were to be set aside for bursaries in Grammar, Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine. None were to be admitted as bursars in 'Grammer being vnder the aige of sevin yeirs, nor past the aige of xiiij'. Similarly, age limits were fixed for University students. Bursars in Grammar were to be presented to a 'Grammar scole in ane of the Vniuersities, or vther famous scole in ane of the cheif burrowis or townes of the realme'.⁵ Even

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 640.

² *Ibid.*, p. 693.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 856.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 502, 503.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214. Parliament had already, in 1567, passed an Act to the

the *form* of the letter to be sent to the 'Maister of the Grammer Scoile' notifying a vacant bursary and the form of the Master's reply were carefully prepared.¹

From the numerous local Records of this period which have been preserved we quote one or two which show the activity of the Church in matters pertaining to education. The first is from the Records of the Presbytery of Haddington under the year 1594 :

Andrew dischington schoolmaster of Dunbar. The act of the last synodall assembly giving the presbyterie commission to try Andro dischingtoun schoolmaster of Dunbar not only in his hability to travell in the ministry² but also to teache ane grammer schoole being presentit to the presbyterie the brethren ordainit him to cum heir this day aucht dayes and for beginning of his tryall to teache ane piece of the first booke of the georgyckes of Virgill at the beginning therof to try quhither he be able to teache ane grammer schoole or not.³

effect that 'all patrounis hauand prouestreis, or prebendareis of Collegis, Alterageis, or Cheplanereis, at thair giftis, and dispositioun, may in all tymes cuming at thair plesour present the samin to ane bursar,' &c., *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. iii, p. 24.

¹ 'Forsamekle as the prebendarie or chapellanrie of A. liand in the diocy of B. now vaikis be the deceis of vmquhile C.D. last possessoure of the same, the yeirlye rent quhairof is thocht not to exceid the sowme of xx merkes ; and We willing to confer the samin to a Bursair in support of his sustentatioun at the scole, for the increas and furtherance of gude letters, be thir oure letters nominatis and presentis oure louit, &c., requiring yow to try and examinat, gif he be past the aige of sevin and be within the aige of xiiij yeiris, gif he be apt to study in Grammer, and will promeis to continew his study vnder yow and be subject to youre discipline ; as alsua inquire quhair the chapellanrie or prebendarie lyis, and quhat is the certane rent thairof,' &c.

'The answer of the Maister of the Grammer Schole.'

'To the richt excellent, &c., youre Hienes humble subject, A.B. Maister of the Grammer Schole of C. humble reuerence and submissioun : According to the command of youre Maiesties letters, having taken triall I find D.E. nominat and recommendit be youre Hienes to the prebendarie or chapellanrie of A., past the aige of seven, and within the aige of fourtene yeiris, apt and disposit to study in Grammer, quhairin he hes promisit to continue and be subject to my discipline ; having alsua inquirit I find that the said prebendarie or chapellanrie lyis within the diocy of F.' &c. *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, pp. 228-9.

² A good instance of a man teaching as a preparation for the ministry (1592) is given in the *Miscellany of Wodrow Society*, pp. 537-8.

³ M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii, p. 502.

Two years later in the same Records appears :

It wes ordanit be the presbyterie that the hail schoolmasters within thair bounds sould be chargit to compeir befor thame that thay myt not only knaw how thai wer abill to instruct the yowt Bot also charge thame to keip the exercise that thai myt be the better frequented with the heids of religioun.¹

Again, the Kirk Session of Anstruther Wester in 1595 thinks it meet that 'all the yowth in the toun be caused com to the schooll to be teachd', and makes provision for those who were too poor to afford the expenses, and if any were able and refused to send their children they were to 'be callit before the session & admonished of ther dewetie'.

A little later we find :

Anent the puirs it is thocht meit that a visitation shall be, and that sic help shall be maid to them that ar altogether vnable that may not travell to seik to them selfs and the yowng shall get na almess bot on condition that thay com to the schooll, qlk sa mony as does shall be helpit, and the manner of ther help shall be thay shall haif thrie hours granted to them everie day throw the town to seik ther meat, ane hour in the morning fra nyn to ten, at midday fra twell to ane, and at nyght fra sax hours furth.²

The Church, too, exercised its influence in another way. The schoolmaster was expected to read or exhort in the Kirk at Cupar (1564) and Haddington (1572); in Ayr the doctor³ of the Grammar School was required to read the prayers on Sundays; in other places he is found acting either as precentor or session clerk. In Crail (1566) the minister had, in terms of his agreement, to teach in the school, and similarly in Kirkcudbright and Dysart. A notable instance is that of David Lindsay, who was both master of the Grammar School of Dundee and minister of St. Mary's. So common, indeed, had the practice of conjoining church and school duties become that the Convention of Royal Burghs protested against the system (1587), and requested

¹ M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii, p. 502.

² Ibid., vol. ii, p. 503.

³ Under-master.

Parliament to pass an Act forbidding masters of grammar schools in burghs to act as ministers.¹

The Town Council next claims attention. Its right to the patronage and appointment of the schoolmasters in the burgh was insisted upon. The case of Peebles and the disputes over the appointment of the master of the Grammar School of Aberdeen have been noticed above. With the fall of the old Church, however, the Town Councils display an increasing interest in the burgh or grammar schools. In Haddington, at the request of the Council, the schoolmaster demits his office and renounces for a consideration his claims upon the school which had been granted to him by the Abbot of Holyrood and confirmed by the King.² At the Reformation the Edinburgh Grammar School was conducted by William Robertoun, a Roman Catholic. Accordingly, the Town Council was particularly anxious to dispense with his services. In 1562 we read that 'the counsale, vnderstanding the greit corruptioun of the youth be maister William Robertoun, maister of the grammar scole, being ane obstinat papeist, ordanis tender writingis to be directit fra the said counsale to my lord James [afterwards Regent] exhorting his lordschip to laubour at my lorde Robertis hand for granting ane gift of the office of the maisterschip to sic ane leirnit and qualifeit man as thai can find maist abill thairfore, to the effect thai may remove the said maister William fra the office foirsaid'.³ But the unexpected happened. The schoolmaster proved contumacious and most difficult to remove. On the Council forbidding him to act as teacher in the Grammar School he appealed to Queen Mary, who interposed in his favour (1565), and the Council was obliged to pay him his due fees. Robertoun continued to give

¹ For example, Andrew Simpson, master of the school of Perth, was translated to Dunbar in 1564, 'where he sustained the double office of master of the grammar-school and minister of the parish.' Miller, *History of Dunbar*, p. 215.

Also James Carmichael was minister-schoolmaster in Haddington in 1572. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

² Grant, *Burgh Schools*, pp. 94-5.

³ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh (1557-71)*, pp. 131-2.

trouble for almost twenty years longer. At last, in 1584, the Provost, Bailies and Council 'all in ane [consent] consentet and agreit, and be thir presents gevis and grantes to the said maister William, induring his lyfetye, ane yeirly pensioun of twa hundreth merks, to be payet to him quarterlie, furth of thair commoun guid'.¹ In consideration of which display of generosity Robertoun was pleased to withdraw his claim to the mastership of the school.

Not only did the Town Council jealously guard its right to the patronage, but it was equally jealous in protecting the schools under its charge. Many towns might be mentioned in which all schools, other than those taught by the recognized master, were prohibited.² In Kirkcaldy, for example, when a scholar was sent to a school other than the burgh school, a fee of 20s. yearly had to be paid by the parent to the schoolmaster of the burgh school.

In a few cases the Town Council paid the salary of the schoolmaster from the Common Good of the burgh.³ Numerous instances of the Council repairing the school buildings and of erecting new ones are met with.⁴ In 1578 the Town Council of Edinburgh erected the Grammar School on the site of the Blackfriars Monastery; in 1600 the Glasgow Town Council resolved to build a new grammar school since the old one had become so 'decayed'. And just as there were visitations by the Church so there were visitations by the Town Council, and rules were laid down regarding them. In Glasgow about this time it was arranged that the school should be visited and examined twice a year by fit persons appointed by the Town Council and the

¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (1573-89), p. 330. The sum of 200 merks was equivalent to £11 2s. 2½d. sterling.

² Haddington (1563), Crail (1567), Kirkcaldy, and Ayr (1582).

³ In Peebles the Common Good was so reduced in 1572 that a bailie and two others were commissioned by the Council to go round the town and interview the honest men, 'tak thair hand write and promis quhat thai or ony of thame will gif benevolentle to ane qualifiit scoilmaister.' *Extracts from Burgh Records of Peebles*, p. 352.

⁴ For example—'Item, for xij threif of quheit straye, to theik the Grammer Scole, xlviijs.' *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Glasgow* (1573-1642), p. 465.

University, when rewards and reproofs would be duly administered. At the beginning of the seventeenth century similar visitations were ordained by the Town Councils of Aberdeen and Stirling, and throughout the period records of such visits are quite numerous.

In another direction the Town Council of Edinburgh displayed activity. In the previous century, at the instigation of the Bishops, the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen had been erected in the chief cities of their sees; but Edinburgh, although the capital, was not an episcopal seat, and probably for this reason had remained unprovided with a College. As early as 1562, the Town Council had made an effort to remedy matters by praying Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Moray and Regent, to use his efforts to obtain the grant to the town of the 'place yairdis and anuellis of the freris and altarageis of the kirk', not only for sustaining the teachers of the Grammar School, but also for making provision for the 'regentis of ane college to be beigit within this burgh'.¹ Apparently, however, these efforts were thwarted by the Bishops, 'who were jealous of the reputation and prosperity of the seminaries placed under their own immediate and official protection.'² The attacks which led up to the fall of Episcopacy in 1580 encouraged the Council to renew its efforts, and in 1582 the building, which had been begun two years before, was completed, and a royal charter was granted, authorizing the foundation of the College and confirming the rights of the Town Council, with the advice of the ministers of the city as patrons.

Turning now to the schools, one cannot fail to notice the lack of endowments. Evidence of their existence before the Reformation is scanty. In 1387 we read of an endowment for four scholars at Ellon, and a century later the Rector of the Church of Kincardine holds his position on condition that he conducts the local school. Again, in 1542, the Grammar

¹ *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Edinburgh (1557-71)*, p. 132.

² M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii, p. 396.

School of Crail was endowed by one of the prebendaries of the Collegiate Church there. Two years later the Grammar School of Kirkwall was founded by Bishop Reid and endowed with the altarage of St. Peter's—an endowment which was continued after the Reformation. In 1595 the Earl of Orkney, who seems to have gained possession of the endowment, made it over to the schoolmaster on condition that he should reside in Kirkwall. At a later date these revenues lapsed to the Crown, and have since remained in its possession. We read, also, that the Town Council of Edinburgh obtained from Queen Mary (1566) a gift of the endowments in the city which had belonged to the Dominican and Franciscan monks. About the same time, too, the hospital funds in Dundee were divided between the schoolmasters and ministers. In Peebles the schoolmaster was permitted in 1572 'to lift vp the fruttis and annuell rentis' of the altar of St. Andrews Church.¹ James VI, who was kindly disposed towards learning, is found granting to the Town Councils of Irvine (1572) and Paisley (1576), for the support of their grammar schools, certain altarages and funds from the old Churches. Still later, the Bishop of Aberdeen (1585) endowed the Grammar School at Banff with certain teinds, amounting annually to £44 10s. 6d. Scots, which, however, were never made available to the burgh, 'the power of the neighbouring barons having overawed the inhabitants.'² Even where schools were endowed little good resulted, as much of the endowment had by this time been wasted or misapplied. In 1594, Parliament passed an Act with a view to remedying matters, and endeavoured to recover the lost rents of the schools and apply them to their proper use.³

As for the subjects of study, the Reformation made very little change in the grammar school curriculum. Latin still continued to be the main, and in some cases the only subject taught. The Privy Council, in 1575, acting on numerous

¹ *Extracts from Burgh Records of Peebles*, p. 339.

² *Education Commission (Scot.) Report* (1868), vol. ii, p. 16.

³ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. iv, p. 94.

requests, endeavoured to simplify education in the country by establishing one form of grammar to take the place of the numerous grammars then in use, chief among which were the famous Donat, the grammar of Despauter, and the Rudimenta Grammatices (Dunbar Rudiments) of Andrew Simpson.¹ For this purpose some of the leading schoolmasters were brought together to consult and advise as to the one most suitable.² But nothing definite seems to have resulted from this and other similar attempts of Parliament.³ About this time Greek is found associated with Latin.⁴ The Grammar School of Banff was instituted to instruct the youth in the elements of Latin and Greek. The schoolmaster of the Grammar School of Haddington, in 1591, undertook to instruct the 'whole bairns sufficiently in their Greek and Latin grammars, and in all the classic authors necessary'.⁵

For the first time the records of the burgh schools show that a general attempt was being made to widen the scope of the school work by the introduction of the elementary branches of Reading and Writing. The master of the Grammar School of Crail, in 1582, was expected to teach Reading as well as Grammar; the next year both Reading and Writing find their way into the course of study of the Grammar School of Ayr; while a few years later the Town Council of Edinburgh gave up a room in the Grammar School for the teaching of Writing as an optional subject

¹ Chalmers, *Life of Ruddiman*, pp. 21-2.

² Maister Thomas Buchannane, Striveling; Maister Williame Robertoun, Edinburgh; Maister Andro Symoun, Dunbar; Maister James Carmichaell, Hadingtoun; Maister Patrik Auchinlek, Sanctandris. *Register Privy Council*, vol. ii, p. 478.

³ Note that in England *Lily's Grammar* (1509) was by Royal Proclamation in 1540 authorized as the only grammar to be used in schools. Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, p. 243.

⁴ John Sturm (1507-89), the famous schoolmaster of Strasburg, whose methods and school books were largely adopted in Europe, and in particular by Buchanan in Scotland, advocates a fair knowledge of both Latin and Greek. 'Multum illum profecisse arbitror, qui ante sextum decimum aetatis annum facultatem duarum linguarum mediocrem assecutus est.' Quick, *Essays on Educational Reformers*, pp. 27-32.

⁵ Grant, *Burgh Schools*, p. 331.

(1593). In 1574 permission was given to a teacher to open a school in Edinburgh for the teaching of French.

Regulations specifying the necessary preparatory education before admission to the grammar school course proper now appear. In Edinburgh, for instance, pupils were not to be admitted to the Grammar School proper without a preliminary knowledge of English and Writing (1598).

In the latter half of the sixteenth century many schools in various parts of the country had risen to importance; some by their connexion with prominent Reformers, others by the outstanding ability of their head masters. Two grammar schools—those of Glasgow and Edinburgh—deserve more than a passing reference. The curriculum of the former has fortunately been preserved, and may be accepted as fair evidence of the kind and range of work in a grammar school in one of the University towns soon after the Reformation. Before entering upon a five years' course in Latin, the pupils were required to have had a preparatory course in Reading, Writing, and in 'committing some words to memory'.¹ In the first year the rudiments of etymology and syntax were taught and short sentences were to be committed to memory, 'inculcating piety, good morals, and conduct, to be rendered into the vernacular in the best style possible.' In the second year the pupil was introduced to Despauter and the colloquies of Corderius,² and later to the select epistles of Cicero, the minor colloquies of Erasmus,³ and the sacred dialogues of Castalis.⁴ In the third year Terence and Ovid were prelected upon, together with the Psalms of Buchanan, and the pupil was exercised in Latin

¹ Latin words.

² The purpose of the *Colloquia* was to enable boys to speak Latin by providing them with examples of conversation upon the common life of the day as it presented itself to the young. For an account of Mathurin Cordier see Woodward's *Education during the Renaissance*, pp. 154-66.

³ See Drummond, *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii, pp. 153 et seq.

⁴ 'The whole of Castellion's subjects are from Scripture—and the whole work thus represents Scripture-history in the form of dialogues. The subject-matter thus precisely met the Puritan demand for Scripture-knowledge and satisfied the classical schoolmaster by its sound Latinity.' Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, p. 339.

composition. Horace was studied in the fourth year and Buchanan's Psalms were continued; those who were able were expected to compose heroic, elegiac, or lyric verse, while upon those who had not such ability the task of converting loose sentences into grammatical language and the writing of themes was enjoined. Finally, in the fifth year, the pupil heard lectures upon Rhetoric, read further in the classical poets, entered upon the study of the elements of Greek grammar, translated themes into Latin, 'following as closely as possible the style of Cicero, Cæsar, or Terence,' and, as in the preceding year, if competent to do so, continued verse writing.¹

In the Edinburgh Grammar School we find that Robertoun's successor was Hercules Rollock, 'a man of genius and superior classical attainments,' who had already published several Latin poems of merit, and during whose tenure of office the Town Council required the citizens either to send their children to the Grammar School or pay Rollock a penalty for each child instructed elsewhere. In 1596, Alexander Hume, the author of several works on Divinity, succeeded Rollock, but left Edinburgh in 1606 to take up the mastership of the Trilingual—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—School at Prestonpans, which under his rule soon rose to distinction. It is curious to note that Ray, a professor of Humanity² in the University, succeeded Hume as master of the High School.³ Before this, however, a new schoolhouse had been erected in the garden of Blackfriars Monastery (1578).

Soon after the advent of Hume the course of study and government of the Grammar School were completely remodelled. The scheme framed by a council consisting of one of the senators of the College of Justice; six advocates; the Principal of the College of Edinburgh; the Provost, two bailies, and the Dean of Guild, from the Town Council; three ministers of the city, and a 'writter', was adopted

¹ Grant, *Burgh Schools*, pp. 336–8.

² Crawford, *History of University of Edinburgh*, p. 64.

³ In 1663 John Forbes, Professor of Humanity, was elected master of the Grammar School of Aberdeen, and apparently held the two offices conjointly. Morland Simpson, *Bon Record*, pp. 82–4.

by the Town Council. It recommended the appointment of four learned and godly men as regents to teach the School 'in all tyme cuming'. In the first or lowest class the regent's duty was to teach the Dunbar Rudiments with the Colloquies of Corderius, and on Sunday the *Catechesis Palatinatus*. To the second regent was assigned the task of teaching the rules of the first part of Pelisso, with Cicero's *Epistolae ad Familiares*, and of exacting versions 'thryse in the oulk', while on Sundays he had to teach the 'foresaid Catechise laitlie sett owt in latine with Ouid de tristibus'. The third regent taught the second part of Pelisso, the syntaxis of Erasmus, Terence, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and, on Sundays, Buchanan's *Psalms*. The fourth regent gave instruction in the third part of Pelisso, with Buchanan's *Prosody*; certain works of Linacre, Virgil, Sallust, Caesar, Florus, Ovid, and the 'heroik psalmes of Buquhannane on sonday'. All other persons were prohibited from teaching the rudiments or other Latin book in any lecture school in the city 'swa that the first regent may be the mair answerabill in grunding and instructing thame in Rudiments'. At the same time, in the interests of the lecture school, it was decided that none were to be received into the first class 'bot he quha can reid first perfytelie Inglis with sum writt and the said first regent sall nawayis be sufferit to teache any the first a b c in Reding'. The fourth regent was to be the head of the school, with supervision over his colleagues. Some months later the duties of the principal regent were more precisely defined, and regulations were passed regarding the promotion of pupils and the fees to be paid to each regent. Salaries were also assigned to them from the town: the first and second regents were granted twenty pounds each yearly; the third, forty merks; and the principal regent, 'twa hunder merks' annually.¹ The regents 'rotated' with their classes.²

¹ Steven, *High School of Edinburgh*, Appendix, pp. 24-6. Scots money was meant: £1 Scots was equal to twenty pence sterling, and a merk was equivalent to 13½ pence sterling.

² Woodward thinks that in the classical schools in Germany and England during the sixteenth century, in any one class, especially with the juniors,

Activity in the direction of higher education was particularly evident in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In addition to the founding of the University of Edinburgh an attempt was made by Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth in 1592 to erect a University and College in Fraserburgh. Five years later permission 'to found ane vniuersitie, big and mak collegis, place maisteris and teachearis',¹ was granted by Parliament. The new Principal was Charles Ferme who had been one of the first to graduate Master of Arts in the recently erected College of Edinburgh. Together with this office he held the position of minister of the parish of Fraserburgh under a special dispensation from the Church.² Owing to the part Ferme took in the General Assembly, which met in Aberdeen in 1605 against the King's wishes, he was imprisoned, and, as no successor seems to have been appointed, the University soon after came to an end.

It is probable, however, that this failure was due to other causes, for in Aberdeen in 1593 Marischal College was founded and endowed by George, Earl Marischal of Scotland. The erection of this college was soon after 'allowit, approwin and affermeit' by the General Assembly³ and ratified by Parliament on condition that it was subject to the jurisdiction of the Town Council.⁴ The original teaching staff

'boys were grouped according to ability and special aptitudes, and work both as preparation and with the master was largely individual,' and that the class was 'rarely taught as a whole upon a uniform class method'. *Education during the Renaissance*, p. 221. This, however, does not appear to have been the rule in the Grammar School of Aberdeen in 1553, nor in Edinburgh in 1598. See Appendix II and Steven's *High School of Edinburgh*, p. 35.

¹ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. iv, pp. 147-8.

² 'Anent a supplication given in by the Presbyterie of Deare, makand mention, that Philorth had erected a colledge in Fraserburgh, and had agreed with Mr Charles Ferme to be both minister of the towne and master of the colledge, whilk Mr. Charles refuses to accept, except he be commanded by the Generall Assemblie; wherefore, the Generall Assemblie (considering the necessitie of the work, and the abilities of the man) ordains the said Mr. Charles Ferholme to undertake the said charges, and to await upon them.' Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 202; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 958.

³ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 802.

⁴ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. iv, p. 35.

consisted of a Principal and three regents or masters in philosophy.

In the meantime the question of University reform had again come into prominence. Andrew Melville, on his appointment to the principalship of Glasgow University in 1574, had made radical changes in the curriculum there. But it was one thing to remodel a course of study and another to find the necessary teachers. In consequence he had to continue for a time the regenting system and to teach an extraordinary range of subjects himself, which, however, he did with such success that the 'nam of that Collage within twa yeirs was noble throwout all the land, and in vther countreys also'.¹ Three years later James VI granted to the University a new charter—the *Nova Erectio*—and in 1581 a scheme of study was adopted which well illustrates the influence of the reform movement.² Previous to this,

¹ James Melvill, *Diary*, pp. 38–9.

'Sa falling to wark with a few number of capable heirars, sic as might be instructars of vthers thereafter, he teatched tham the Greik grammer, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise therof in Greik and Latin authors, namlie, Homer, Hesiod, Phocilides, Theognides, Pythagoras, Isocrates, Pindarus, Virgill, Horace, Theocritus, &c. From that he enterit to the Mathematiks, and teatched the Elements of Euclid, the Arithmetic and Geometrie of Ramus, the Geographie of Dyonisius, the Tables of Hunter, the Astrologie of Aratus; from that to the Morall Philosophie, he teatched the Ethiks of Aristotle, the Offices of Cicero, Aristotle de Virtutibus, Cicero's Paradoxes, and Tusculanes, Arist. Polyt. and certean of Platoes Dialoges; from that to the Naturall Philosophie he teatched the buiks of the Physics, De Ortu, De Cœlo, &c., also of Plato and Fernelius. With this he ioyned the Historie, with the twa lights thereof, Chronologie and Chirographie, out of Sleidan, Menarthes and Melancthon. And all this, by and attoure his awin ordinar profession, the holie tonges and Theologie, he teachit the Hebrew grammar, first schortlie, and syne mor accuratlie; thereafter the Caldaic and Syriac dialects with the practise therof in the Psalmes and Warks of Solomon, David, Ezra, and Epistle to the Galates. He past throw the hail comoun places of theologie verie exactlie and accuratlie; also throw all the Auld and New Testament, and all this in the space of sax yeirs, during the quhilk he teachit euerie day customablie twyse, Sabothe and vther day, with an ordinar conference with sic as war present efter denner and supper. His lerning and peanfulnes was mikle admired, sa that the nam of that Collage within twa yeirs was noble throwout all the land, and in vther countreys also.'

² *First Class*: The principles of Greek Grammar illustrated by reading Isocrates, Lysias, &c.; the precepts of Eloquence explained from Talaues,

in 1578, a Commission had been appointed by Parliament to visit all the Universities and Colleges,¹ and a new course of study had been introduced into St. Andrews, in which not only was greater prominence given to the study of Classics, but certain modifications were made in the Philosophy course. For the future only the 'maist profitable and neidfull pairtis of the logikis of aristotle with the ethikis and politikis all in greik and the offices of cicero in latine', were to be taught. Further, every book was to be read in the tongue in which it was written.² At a later date similar schemes of study were introduced into the two Colleges in Aberdeen.

An important change was the adoption of the principle, recommended by Knox, of assigning each subject to a special teacher or professor in place of the previous regenting or rotatory system.³ Before long a return was made to the old system. Edinburgh University appears to have adopted the regenting system, and continued it until 1708. In Glasgow regenting was resumed in 1639 and thereafter continued until 1727. In Marischal College it was abolished in 1753; while King's College continued it to the end of the eighteenth century.

Thus by the end of the sixteenth century the Scottish various styles exemplified by reading Cicero, Demosthenes, Homer, Aristophanes, &c.

Second Class: Rhetoric with prelections on Aristotle and Cicero *de Oratore*, &c., with the applications of the rules in Demosthenes, Cicero, Sophocles, and Pindar; the principles of Invention and Disposition from Ramus, and illustrated from Plato, Plutarch, Cicero *de Finibus*, and Tusculan Questions.

Third Class: Arithmetic, Geometry, and other branches of Mathematics; Aristotle's Logic, Ethics, and Politics, Cicero's Offices, and Plato's Dialogues.

Fourth Class: Aristotle's Physics, the Doctrine of the Sphere, Cosmography, Introduction to Universal History, and the principles of the Hebrew Tongue. *University Commission Report* (1831), p. 219.

¹ *Acts of Parliament* (Scot.), vol. iii, p. 98.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 178-82.

³ 'Quatuor autem hos regentes nolumus, prout in regni nostri academiis olim mos fuit, novas professiones quotannis immutare, quo factum fuit, ut dum multa profiterentur, in paucis periti invenirentur; verum volumus in eadem professione se exerceant, ut adolescentes qui gradatim ascendunt, dignum suis studiis et ingeniis praeceptorem reperire queant.'

Universities had made distinct advances in the direction of modern developments. In the first place prominence had been given to the study of Greek and Latin literature, and secondly, the introduction of Plato into the course of study deprived Aristotle of the monopoly which he had so long enjoyed in the philosophic schools in Scotland.

It was not to be expected that the new curriculum would immediately react upon the grammar school, but we shall find that about the middle of the next century it gave rise to the claim of the University for the exclusive teaching of Greek. The necessity of a definite delimitation of the functions of the grammar school and the University, which John Knox and his colleagues in 1560 had clearly apprehended, was but imperfectly understood by Scottish legislators twenty years later. To outline a University course without any reference to the preliminary education of the students betrayed an imperfect conception of the fundamentals of education. And this lack of articulation of educational agencies remained for nearly three centuries a blot upon educational administration in Scotland.

Such, in brief, were the developments in education in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The Reformed Church, adopting the principles of Knox, definitely assumed the right of superintendence over the whole range of education. It was associated in the government of the University of Edinburgh; it approved of the founding of Marischal College; by the Act of 1567 it took cognizance of the religious beliefs of teachers of all ranks, and insisted upon the dismissal of those who did not conform to its teachings. The Principal of a University as well as a parish school-master were to be men of whom it approved. Many teachers, indeed, were aspirants for Church offices, and took up their duties merely as a step towards ordination.¹ Under the aegis of the Church the planting of schools, particularly of parish schools, went on apace. As yet there was no legal obligation upon the heritors to provide the means of educa-

¹ Examples are numerous. See also Brown, *Paisley Grammar School*, pp. 39-40.

tion, but 'as every minister was bound regularly to examine his people, it became his interest to have a schoolmaster for the instruction of the youth. At the annual visitation of parishes by presbyteries and provincial synods, the state of the schools formed one subject of uniform inquiry; the qualifications of the teachers were tried; and where there was no school, means were used for having one established. A "common order" as to the rate of contribution to be raised for the salary of the teacher, and as to the fees to be paid by the scholars, was laid down and put in practice'.¹

On the other hand we have seen that the Town Councils of Edinburgh and Aberdeen were granted important rights by Acts of Parliament over the newly erected colleges in their cities. In the burghs generally, the Town Council jealously guarded its right to the appointment of the masters in its schools. Nor can its claim be considered illogical. Not only did it provide the grammar school buildings and keep them in repair, but in many instances it provided a salary for the schoolmaster from the Common Good of the burgh.² Where instances occur, and there are a few, of the Church and the Town Council being associated in the patronage, it is generally due to some exceptional reason.

Thus, at the end of the sixteenth century, there were two well-defined classes of schools giving, in different degrees, an education leading directly to the University, and this, therefore, may be considered as the secondary education of that period. Over the one, the parish school, the Church exercised definite and complete control; over the other, the grammar or burgh school, it shared its control with the Town Council. It is difficult to say exactly what were the precise relations between the two authorities, the variations in practice being so many. But it is significant that Parliamentary legislation from the Reformation to the Education Act of 1872, which can be said to be applicable to the

¹ M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii, pp. 408-9.

² Grant, *Burgh Schools*, p. 456 et seq.

grammar or burgh school, has reference almost entirely to Church jurisdiction. Whatever control the Town Council had over the grammar school was not given it by law.

Meanwhile it should be remembered that, in considering the state of education in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the educational horizon was very limited. The range of knowledge, especially in its scientific aspect, was only narrow. The earth was still thought to be the centre of the universe, and all the heavenly bodies were conceived as revolving round it. Indeed, 'an educational system which assumed that the ancients knew everything could not have been expected to show much favour to any new discoveries in physical science.'¹ The stars and planets were credited with occult influences. The belief in witchcraft, in common with other countries in Europe, was prevalent. James VI was a firm believer in it, and during the last two decades of the century a great number of witches were denounced, tried, and executed. An instance is recorded of the schoolmaster of Prestonpans, *under torture*, admitting that he had held intercourse with the devil and had attended meetings of witches. He had also taken part in certain incantations which had caused the sinking of a ship and had plotted to raise storms. To such admissions there could be only one sequel—he was tried, convicted, and burned!²

Nevertheless, the country was slowly but steadily advancing both intellectually and morally. Clearer ideas regarding the rights and duties of social life were being formed. The Church took strong views regarding questions of morality and religious duty. Manual labour was forbidden on Sundays, although several generations had to come and go before Sunday was uniformly recognized as a day of rest. Attendance at church was made compulsory, fines being inflicted for absence. Pupils were compelled to attend religious instruction not only on weekdays but often in school on the Sabbath before going to the Kirk accompanied by their

¹ Mackintosh, *History of Civilization in Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 419–20.

² Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 210 et seq.

teachers.¹ Other means were employed to make the people more religious. The first Bible printed in Scotland was issued complete in 1579. In the same year, by Act of Parliament, every gentleman, householder, and others 'worth thrie hundreth merkis of yeirlye rent or abone', and every yeoman and burgess with five hundred pounds had to provide, under a penalty of ten pounds, 'a bible and psalme buke in vulgare language in thair houssis for the better instructioun of thame selffis and thair famelijs in the knowlege of God.' And to see that this was carried into effect, the following year a searcher was appointed with power to visit the houses of those signified by the Act, 'and to require the sicht of thair Psalme Buikis and Bybillis.'²

Although the Privy Council in 1574 had prohibited printing without licence of the Government, yet an increasingly large number of books were being issued. Between the years 1558 and 1614 fourteen complete editions of the works of Sir David Lyndsay were published—two in Paris and three in England. Three editions of Buchanan's History were also issued.

Commercially the country was not progressing rapidly. James had contrived, before he succeeded to the Crown of England, to bring the restless nobility under better control, and, following the lead of the sister country, had introduced skilled workmen from abroad. Flemish weavers imparted some of their skill to the Scotsmen, for whose instruction they were brought over from the Netherlands. But foreign trade was comparatively small, and was mainly carried on with the Baltic, the Low Countries, and France; very little with England.

¹ An account of Sunday work in the Grammar School of Stirling is given by Hutchison in his *High School of Stirling*, pp. 134-6.

² *Acts of Parliament* (Scot.), vol. iii, p. 139; and *Register of Privy Council* (Scot.), vol. iii, p. 485.

The Privy Council had in 1575 commanded and charged 'the principallis and Heidismen of euery parochin alsweill to Burgh as Landwart' to contribute and collect five pounds for the purchase of a Bible to be placed in every parish kirk.

In the country itself there was still much unrest and disorder. The roads and towns were infested with hordes of beggars, 'whose great number—itself a melancholy indication of the state of the times—and lawless lives had frequently before been lamented by the Church'.¹ Police supervision and organization were still very defective. Burghs were jealous of one another, and trading facilities consequently restricted. Yet, as we have indicated, the tone of social, moral, and intellectual life was gradually being raised, and the schools were contributing their share to this progressive movement.

¹ Lee, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 101-2.

In 1569 the General Assembly complained of 'ane great number of idle persons without lawfull calling, as pypers, fiders, sangsters, sorners, pleasants, strang beggars'. *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 874.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CHURCH

THE Reformed Church, as we have seen, showed great interest in education during the latter half of the sixteenth century. The civil law upon which it based its claim to jurisdiction over schools and colleges was the Act of 1567, which was confirmed by Parliament in 1581 and again in 1592, when Presbyterianism was established. During the next two centuries frequent and explicit references are made to this jurisdiction of the Church in the Acts of the General Assembly, and in the records of the Kirk Sessions. Notwithstanding that the Church experienced many vicissitudes in the seventeenth century it continued its supervision of education.

No sooner had James VI succeeded to the English crown than he set about restoring the authority of the Bishops. Among the measures advocated by the Hampton Court Conference (1604) we find the following: 'That schooles in citeis, touns, and famileis, throughout all this kingdom, be taught by none but suche as sall be tryed and approved to be sound and upright in religioun; and for that effect, that the bishops in everie one of their diocesis sall take order with them, displacing the corrupted, and placing honest and sufficient in their places,' and likewise 'that order be taikin with universiteis, for trying of maisters and fellowes of colledges'.¹ In 1606 the Bishops were restored to their ancient and accustomed honour, and three years later a general Convention of the Estates, which met at Edinburgh, decreed that they should be examiners of pedagogues that passed with the sons of noblemen and gentlemen out of the country.² When in 1610 two High Commission Courts were

¹ Calderwood, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. vi, p. 245.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 4.

erected—one at St. Andrews and the other at Glasgow—teachers of schools, colleges, and Universities were, in respect of their religious principles, made subject to their supervision. The General Assembly still continued to meet, though at irregular intervals, and in an account of its proceedings in 1616—the Archbishop of St. Andrews presiding—we read: ‘Because it is alledged, that women take upon them to teache schooles, and under colour of their teaching, preests catechize the youth, and pervert them; therfor, it is ordeaned, that neither man nor woman teache young ones till they be tryed, and have the approbation of the bishope of the diocie, and the presbyterie where they dwell.’¹ The year 1618 saw the complete restoration of Episcopacy. For the next twenty years the meetings of the General Assembly were discontinued. If the Presbyterian Church of Scotland existed at all during this period it ‘was to be found only in secret chambers, or in the wildest recesses of the mountains in the south and in the west’.²

On the eve of the Bishops’ Wars, Charles I agreed to call a General Assembly, which met at Glasgow in 1638. One of its first proceedings was to declare that the six Assemblies which had been held between 1606 and 1618 were ‘from the beginning unfree, unlawfull, and null’. Episcopacy was abolished and Presbyterianism restored, and for eleven years the General Assembly met regularly. During this period Presbyterian Church jurisdiction over education was resumed. It was decreed (1638) that the act of Assembly of 1565 should be put into execution, that the ‘Principall, Regents, and Professours within Colledges, and Masters and Doctors of Schooles, be tryed concerning the soundnesse of their judgement in matters of religion, their abilitie for discharge of their calling, and the honesty of their conversation’, and direction was given to the Presbyteries to plant schools in the landward parishes and to appoint suitable teachers.³ In the following year an Act was passed enjoining subscrip-

¹ Calderwood, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. vii, p. 225.

² Lee, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 222.

³ *Acts of the General Assembly* (Church Law Soc.), pp. 21–2.

tion of the Covenant upon all masters of Universities, colleges, and schools, as well as upon scholars at the passing of their degrees.¹ A few weeks after the Civil War had broken out in England (1642), the Assembly ordained that every parish should have a reader and a school, where children were to be 'bred in reading, writting, and grounds of religion'; in burghs and other considerable places grammar schools were to be erected 'and held hand to', and accounts of them were to be rendered to the Presbyteries at the visitation of the Kirk. Owing to the poverty of the schools, the Assembly, bent on providing them with sufficient funds, supplicated Parliament 'that they (in their wisdome) would finde out how meanes shall be had for so good an use, especially that the children of poore men (being very capable of learning, and of good engines) may be trained up', and at the same time urged that provision should be made for University bursaries for 'youths of the finest and best spirits of the Highlands and Borders'. It also discussed the appointment of a committee 'for the time and manner of visitation of schooles, and contriving the best and most compendious and orderly course of teaching grammar'.²

In 1645, after giving serious consideration to certain 'Overtures for advancement of Learning, and good Order in Grammar Schools and Colledges', the Assembly approved them and ordained that they should have the strength of an Act and Ordinance. As showing the extent to which the Church interested itself in education at that time they are well worth examining. Notwithstanding the troublous times—Naseby was fought a few months later—they show the same enlightened zeal for education which had characterized the Reformers a century before. The first four sections read as follows :

I. That every grammar school be visited twice in the year by visitors, to be appointed by the Presbyterie and Kirk-

¹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 42.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63. These Overtures had been read in the Assembly in the previous year (1641) and recommended to Parliament.

Session in landward parishes, and by the town-councill in burghs, with their ministers ; and where universities are, by the universities, with consent alwayes of the patrons of the school, that both the fidelitie and diligence of the masters, and the proficiencie of the schollers in pietie and learning may appear, and deficiencie censured accordingly ; and that the visitors see that the masters be not distracted by any other employments which may divert them from their diligent attendance.

II. That for the remedie of the great decay of poesie, and of abilitie to make verse, and in respect of the common ignorance of prosodie, no schoolmaster be admitted to teach a grammar school, in burghs or other considerable paroches, but such as after examination shall be found skilfull in the Latine tongue, not only for prose, but also for verse ; and that after other trials to be made by the ministers, and others depute by the Session, town, and paroch for this effect, that he be also approved by the Presbyterie.

III. That neither the Greek language nor logick, nor any part of philosophie, be taught in any grammar school or private place within this kingdom to young schollers, who thereafter are to enter to any colledge, unlesse it be for a preparation to their entrie there ; and, notwithstanding of any progresse any may pretend to have made privately in these studies, yet, in the colledge he shall not enter to any higher classe then that wherein the Greek language is taught, and being entred shall proceed orderly through the rest of the classes, untill he finish the ordinary course of four years ; unlesse after due triall and examination, he be found equall in learning to the best or most part of that classe to which he desires to ascend, by overleaping a mid classe, or to the best or most part of those who are to be graduat, if he supplicate to obtain any degree before the ordinary time ; and also, that there be found other pregnant reasons to move the Faculty of Arts to condescend thereto. And otherwise, that he be not admitted to the degree of Master of Arts.

IV. That none be admitted to enter a student of the Greek tongue in any colledge, unlesse after triall he be found able to make a congruous theame in Latine ; or at least, being admonished of his errour, can readily shew how to correct the same.

Then follow four other sections dealing with class promotion, the granting of degrees, and the transference of students

from one college to another. Finally, it was enacted that the Commissioners from the Universities to the General Assembly should 'meet and consult together for the establishment and advancement of pietie, learning, and good order, in the schools and universities'.¹

Thus the Church, following up the ideal of John Knox, took under its supervision the inspection of schools, the academic qualifications of the schoolmaster, the delimitation of work as between the school and the University and the conditions of transference of scholars from one to the other, the preliminary qualifications for entrance to certain classes in the University and the course of study leading to graduation. But, as we shall see, it was one thing to assume such important functions and another to make them effective in practice.

In other ways, too, the Church endeavoured by its legislation to direct the education and upbringing of the youth into its own religious channels. Only a few days after the above Overtures had been accepted an Act was passed by the Assembly 'for censuring the Observers of Yule-day, and other superstitious dayes, especially if they be Schollers'.² Masters of schools were enjoined to discipline severely and chastise offending pupils; but in case the masters themselves were accessory 'to the said superstitious profanitie, by their connivance, granting of libertie of vacance to their schollars', they were to be 'summoned by the ministers

¹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp. 117-8.

² In 1569 the scholars of the Aberdeen Grammar School presented to the Town Council an 'epistill in Latin' in which they complained of the abrogation of their holiday privileges at Yule. The Council granted them 'fra Sanct Thomas evin befor Youll quhill vpon the morne efter the Epiphanie day allanerlie'. In 1575 the Council cancelled these holidays, and for many years the scholars created disturbances at Yule time in trying to regain their old privileges. *Extracts from Burgh Records of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), vol. i, p. 366; vol. ii, p. 25, *et passim*. The year before (1574) the 'maister of the sang schole' of Aberdeen was admonished by the Kirk Session to give no play or privilege to the scholars 'in the dayes dedicated to superstition in Papistrie', but to retain them at their lessons on those days. *Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), p. 16.

of the place, to compeir before the next ensuing Generall Assembly, there to be censured according to their trespasse'.¹ The Church also endeavoured to control the religious education of children who were sent abroad. If any were found to have been sent to 'Popish schooles or colledges without the kingdom' they were to be recalled (1646). Again, in 1648, among the various overtures to the Assembly we find the following: 'Let every family that hath any in it that can read have a Bible and a Psalm-Book, and make use of them; and where none can read, let them be stirred up to traine up their children in reading.'² The next year the Assembly ordained an extraordinary collection at the kirk doors once a year 'for entertaining Highland boyes at schools'.

The jurisdiction assumed by the Church over education was only one phase of the extraordinary influence which the Scottish Clergy by the middle of the seventeenth century had gained over the intellectual, social, and religious life of the people. The most intimate relations of daily life were subject to their scrutiny; the threat of excommunication, which the ministers did not hesitate to use when occasion required, was far more potent than the fear of any civil court.³ 'The whole moral energy of the country appears

¹ Already, in 1575, the General Assembly had expressed itself to the effect that the observance of 'Yoole day, Saincts dayes, and sick vthers' should be abolished. *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 339.

² *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 192. In 1648 the General Assembly approved of the Larger and Shorter Catechism as set out by the Westminster Assembly. Two years later the Presbytery of Dalkeith, with reference to the Grammar School of Musselburgh, contains the following: 'The ministers and elders being interrogated concerning the schoolmaster, Mr. Alexr. Vernour, did approve him particularly in his catechizing the children. Mr. Alexr. being called and asked what catechism he taught the children, told he taught the zounger ones the lesser Catechism, set out by the Assemblie of Divines at Westminster, and the elder ones Ursine, because it was in Latin. Whereupon the clerk was directed to make a note of it, as ane overture which might be given in to the Provincial or General Assemblie, if it was not fitt the greater Catechism should be turned into Latin, that the children learning that language at the schools might be catechised by it.' *Acts of General Assembly*, pp. 168, 171, and *Education Commission Report* (1868), vol. ii, p. 130.

³ *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii, pp. 229-30.

as concentrated in an effort to fix a certain code of theological views, including a rigid observance of the Sabbath, the suppression of witchcraft, the maintenance of a serious style of manners, and the extirpation of popery'.¹

The General Assembly of 1649 was the last, which the Kirk held in a united and recognized form, for the next forty-one years. Meetings of a kind were continued until 1653, but the records of these four meetings are not given in the Acts of the General Assembly. Church supervision of schools and colleges, however, was not discontinued. In 1662, when Episcopacy was restored, Parliament ordained 'that none be heirafter permitted to preach in Publict or in families within any diocesse, or teach any publict Schooll, or to be Pedagogues to the childrene of persons of qualitie without the licence of the Ordinary of the Diocesse',² and this continued in force until the Revolution. In 1690, however, the Presbyterian form of Church government was resumed.

It should be noticed that the civil and Church legislation so far considered applies, from the point of view of superintendence, both to grammar or burgh schools and to parish schools. The jurisdiction of the Church over the latter was never questioned, and, when the parish school was legally established in 1616 and 1633, the Church was by law associated in its future management. In general, too, as in the sixteenth century, the superintendence of the Church over grammar or burgh schools was recognized by Town Councils. Thus we find the Presbytery of Paisley taking trial of the

¹ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. ii, pp. 156-7.

² *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. vii, p. 379. The schoolmaster of Inverness (1673), 'for his tryalls hade the third ode of Horace and hade his oratione *de vanitate hum. scientiae*, and all oyr [other] tryalls usuall in the like case, and was fullie approven.' *Records of the Presbytery of Inverness* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), vol. xxiv, p. 42. In Dingwall (1674), Mr. George Dunbar was appointed 'to be readie to haue ane oratione, and to give ane exigesis of these words of Boethius in his booke *de Consolatione Philosophiae*, "Tu triplicis mediam naturae cuncta moventem Connectens animam, per consona membra resolvit," and that as a specimen of his abilities to teach the grammare school of Dingwall unto qch he was latelie presented.' *Records of Presbytery of Dingwall* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), vol. xxiv, p. 332.

master of the Grammar School as to his doctrine and his ability to teach (1604);¹ the Magistrates of Glasgow requesting the aid of the Presbytery in choosing a schoolmaster (1615); the Town Council of Cupar remitting to the Presbytery a schoolmaster for trial as to his religion, conversation, erudition, and fitness (1628); the Town Council of Montrose, though be it noticed after debate and protest, reporting to the minister that a doctor of the Grammar School had been found qualified in his literature (1656); the Archbishop of Glasgow complaining to the Town Council of a teacher, and thus bringing about his dismissal (1688);² and the suspension of a master at Paisley at the instance of the Church (1689).³

Occasionally the Town Council attempted to dispense with the trial by the Church, but seldom successfully. An interesting case occurs in connexion with the Grammar School of Perth, said to be at the time the most flourishing school in the country. We read that 'in June 1632, Mr. John Row wes admitted master of the Grammer Scole be the Provest, Baillies, and Counsale, without consent or woatt (vote) of ony utheris; quha affixit ane edict and declaratioun in Latine, ane oration, *De Lingua, de Sermone*. The Ministeris and Presbyterie prest to have tryed him, but we would not admit it; for the quhilk there wes much out-crying in the pulpitt'.⁴ In the Presbytery Register dated August 15 of the same year, however, occurs the following:

Whilk day the ministers of Perth report, that, on Monday last, Mr John Row, master of the Grammar School of Perth, acknowledged his oversight in entering to the said school without being tried by them, conform to the Acts of General Assembly and Parliament; and in presence of the Bishop of Dunkeld, and divers others of the Council of the said Burgh, offered himself to tryall if it were their pleasure, of which offer they (the ministers of Perth) rested contented, and therefore overpassed all tryalls because of the divers

¹ Brown, *History of Paisley Grammar School*, pp. 38, 39. The schoolmaster was also required by the Bailies and Council to read the prayers in the Kirk daily.

² Grant, *Burgh Schools*, pp. 85-8.

³ Brown, *History of Paisley Grammar School*, pp. 68; 69, footnote.

⁴ *Chronicle of Perth*, ed. by Maidment, p. 33.

testimonies they had received of his qualification and sufficiency; whereupon they went immediately to the Grammar School of the said Burgh, being accompanied with the Bishop of Dunkeld as Moderator of the Presbytery, and certain others of the Council of the Burgh foresaid; and there, having publickly admonished the said Mr John of his duty in all respects, and diligent awaiting and instructing of the bairns in literature and manners according to his calling, and mutually the bairns duty towards him as their master, did accept him by the hand and authorized him, which the brethren hearing were well contented of.

The said Mr. John also compearing this day personally by himself, the whole brethren, in token of their approbation, take him by the hand likewise *Valete et Plaudite, Valete et Plaudite*.¹

In one form or another, therefore, Church supervision of schools existed throughout the changeful and troublous times in Church and State in the seventeenth century. When in 1690 Parliament rescinded its Acts in favour of Episcopacy, ratified the Confession of Faith, and settled the Presbyterian form of Church government by confirming the Act of 1592, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland took a new lease of life. Almost immediately Church and State co-operated in promoting education. The ancient jurisdiction of the Church over education was confirmed by renewed Acts. Henceforth the Church was unremitting in its efforts to make the power which the law gave it a real and living one. By the Parliamentary Statute of 1690, entitled an 'Act for visitation of Universities Colledges and Schoolls', masters of schools as well as Professors, Principals, and Regents within the kingdom were required to subscribe the Confession of Faith, to take the oath of allegiance, and to be of 'a pious loyal and peaceable conversation and of good and sufficient literature and abilities for their respective Employments and submitting to the government of the Church now settled by Law'. At the same time a Commission was appointed to 'take tryall of the present professors, principalls Regents, masters and others beareing office', and to remove the

¹ Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. xl-xli.

'erroneous scandalous negligent insufficient, or disaffected to their Majesties Government'; to inquire into the foundations and endowments of the Universities, colleges, and schools; to set down rules for their management and for the manner of teaching therein; and to regulate 'all things else relating thereto as they shall thinke most meet and convenient according to the foundations thereof and consistent with the present established government of Church and State'.¹ In the same year the Assembly recommended the Presbyteries to take note of the papists within their bounds and to 'advert how their children were educated.'² Three years later the jurisdiction of the Church was emphasized by a Parliamentary Statute entitled an 'Act for Settling the Quiet & Peace of the Church', which declared 'that all Schoollmasters and Teachers of Youth in Schoolls are and shall be lyable to the tryall judgement and censure of the Presbyteries of the Bounds for their sufficiencie qualifications and deportment in the said Office'.³ It should be noticed that this Act does not confer the right of jurisdiction '*ab initio*, but means to declare and regulate it'.⁴

Accordingly we find the General Assembly recommending all Synods and Presbyteries to inquire what schoolmasters had failed to subscribe the Confession of Faith in order that 'those who have not done it may be put thereto' (1699);⁵ while in the next year the Presbyteries are instructed to enforce the law by applying in the first case to the civil magistrates in burghs, and heritors in landward, and failing these, to the Commission of Parliament for Visitation of Schools and Colleges.⁶ The injunction is repeated in 1706, with the addition that the Presbyteries should visit all the public grammar schools at least twice every year.⁷ It is not surprising to find, therefore, that the Church enforced

¹ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. ix, pp. 163-4.

² *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 226.

³ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. ix, p. 303.

⁴ As stated by Lord President Campbell in *McCulloch v. Allan*, 1793.

⁵ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 285.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

its jurisdiction not merely over parochial schoolmasters, but over teachers of youth of all denominations and descriptions.¹

Further parliamentary legislation followed in 1707 when it was enacted 'that in all time comeing no Professors, Principals, Regents, Masters, or others bearing office in any University Colledge or School within this Kingdom be capable or be admitted or allowed to continue in the exercise' of their functions, but such as should subscribe the Confession of Faith, conform to the worship in use in the Church, and 'submit themselves to the Government and Discipline thereof and never endeavour directly or indirectly the prejudice or subversion of the same and that before the respective Presbyteries of their bounds by whatsoever gift presentation or provision they may be thereto provided'.²

The Church followed this up in 1711 by recommending that special notice be taken of the subjects taught in colleges and Universities, and of the morals and conversation both of masters and scholars.³ Two years later it advised the Presbyteries to endeavour to have schoolmasters appointed who were capable of teaching the common tunes, and to take care that they not only prayed with their scholars, but also sang a part of a psalm with them, at least once every day.⁴ Clearly the Church was giving a fairly wide interpretation to the powers granted it by Statute. It might be anticipated, therefore, that opposition would arise. Thus, in 1711, when the Presbytery of Dundee appointed a visitation of the Grammar School without acquainting the Magistrates, 'contrar to the constant custom of the place, and ane incroachment on the priviledges of the town as patrons of the schooll,' the latter took the matter into their own hands, settled a day for the visitation themselves, and notified the ministers accordingly. Five years later the master of the Grammar School of Fordyce, having failed to subscribe the Confession of Faith, was cited to appear before the Presbytery. Although called

¹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 874.

² *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. xi, pp. 403, 414.

³ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 457.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

three times 'the heretic failed to compear', and was therefore deposed by the Presbytery, who entreated the Magistrates to appoint as speedily as possible a qualified schoolmaster. Similarly the Presbytery of the Chanonry of Ross, in 1743, summoned the schoolmaster of Fortrose to trial on the charge of controverting the Confession of Faith and using profane language. This the schoolmaster resented, declined the jurisdiction of the court, and protested against the whole proceedings. Many more instances of a similar kind might be quoted.¹

During the Forty-five Rising, Parliament passed the Disarming Act, in which it was stated that, although sufficient provision had been made by law for the due regulation of the teachers in the four Universities, and in the public schools authorized by law in the royal burghs and country parishes in Scotland, it was further necessary that all persons who took upon them 'to officiate as masters or teachers in private schools in that part of Great Britain called Scotland should give evidence of their good affection to his Majesty's person and government'. Accordingly, by the twenty-first section, it was provided that it should not be lawful for any to officiate as teachers in a private school, or in any schools other than those established in the respective royal burghs by public authority, or the parochial schools settled according to law, or certain other schools,² until they had been registered in the manner specified by the Act, with certificates bearing that they had qualified themselves by taking the oaths required by persons in offices of public trust in Scotland.³ Three years later (1749) the General Assembly, animadverting upon 'the late wicked Rebellion', earnestly recommended all Presbyteries to take a watchful inspection of schools within their bounds and of the character and behaviour of schoolmasters, and to take care that they were qualified, by taking the oaths to the government, and that they instructed

¹ Grant, *Burgh Schools*, pp. 88-91.

² Such as the S.P.C.K. schools and the Church of Scotland schools.

³ *Acts of Parliament* (George II).

the youth in just principles of religion and loyalty.¹ Thus did the Church and State work together.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century indications of a spirit of opposition to Church jurisdiction over schools became increasingly evident. A test case arose in 1792 in connexion with the schoolmaster of Bothwell, who had been elected by a large majority at a statutory meeting of heritors. The minister, however, objected in respect of an alleged ignorance of Latin on the part of the schoolmaster. But the Presbytery, after taking him on trial, found him competent, whereupon the Minister appealed to the Synod. The appeal being allowed, the schoolmaster carried the case to the Court of Session. The broad question at issue was whether the jurisdiction of the Presbyteries, in regard to schoolmasters, was a proper ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so that their judgments were subject to the review of the superior Church Judicatories, or, whether it was a matter of mere civil jurisdiction, committed by the legislature to Presbyteries, in the same way as that regarding manses and glebes, so that their judgments, like their proceedings as to the manses and glebes, were subject to the review and control of the Supreme Civil Courts alone. The Court of Session found that the sentence of the Presbytery was not final, but that the power of review lay in the Civil Court, and not in the Supreme Church Judicatories. On appeal, the House of Lords reversed this decision and found the power of review belonged to the Superior Church Judicatories²—a decision which a few years later was rendered nugatory by the Act of 1803.

Although, apparently, the Church had vindicated its claims, the decision of the Court of Session may be taken as an indication of the formation of public opinion in Scotland against the exclusive control of education by the Church. But the greater part of a century was to elapse before the Church lost those powers which for centuries it

¹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp. 698-9.

² Dunlop, *Parochial Law*, pp. 525-7, and Duncan, *Parochial Ecclesiastical Law*, pp. 773-4.

had exercised. And the causes of this gradual change of public opinion are not far to seek. The wave of opinion in favour of civil and religious liberty which had swept over the country at the Revolution, far from subsiding, had increased in volume as the century progressed. The failure of the reactionary efforts of the Jacobites had emphasized the principles of the 'glorious Revolution'. Contemporary events on the Continent and over-seas helped to give definite form to those ideas of independence and equality which were yet somewhat nebulous. Trade and manufactures had enormously increased, and the rise of great cities, with their complex and more highly organized social life, had been followed by a corresponding development in ideas regarding the relations of different sections of the community. Under such circumstances, notwithstanding the tenacious hold which the Clergy had upon the people, it would have been strange had ecclesiastical supremacy over schools and education continued indefinitely.

Again, the Church itself was showing signs of disintegration. Secessions on matters of discipline had already depleted its ranks, and further secessions were imminent. Gradually the authority of the Presbyteries over schoolmasters came to be looked upon as being out of harmony with the spirit of the age, and the schoolmaster himself was not slow to foster this view. So long as the school was the peculiar preserve of the licentiate the authority of the Church was not likely to be questioned. But times were changing, and no longer was the teaching profession recruited solely from licentiates of the Church. The school was beginning to appear, though dimly, as a civil institution. Indeed the argument that the Acts of Parliament did not recognize the right of superintendence as inherent in the Church, but merely as delegated to it by legislation, was simply an assertion of this. The first step, therefore, in the transference of the control of the schools from the Church to the State may be said to have been taken when the Court of Session pronounced its judgment in the Bothwell case.

Meanwhile the Church in no way abated its efforts. The General Assembly in 1794, attributing the growth of licentiousness to the neglect of the religious education of the youth, and on the plea that the ancient and laudable practice of instructing pupils in the principles of religion by means of the Holy Scriptures and the Catechisms had been much neglected in many parochial and other English and Latin schools, particularly in the cities and towns of the kingdom, enjoined the reading of the Holy Bible and the memorizing of the Shorter Catechism by all pupils in such schools. The ministers were instructed to visit and examine them from time to time, and the Presbyteries ordained to appoint visitations at least once in each year.¹ In 1799 the Assembly took a firm stand with regard to the question of the power of the Church over all schools and teachers of youth, and the relative laws from 1565 onward were recapitulated. It directed the Presbyteries to be diligent in exercising the powers which the laws of the land and the Church had committed to them, and even went the length of authorizing the Procurator of the Church to carry on, at the public expense, such processes as might appear to be necessary for enforcing the sentences, or ascertaining the powers, of the Judicatories of the Church relative to schools. The Assembly agreed if necessary to request his Majesty's Advocate and Solicitor-General to concur with the Procurator in supporting its jurisdiction. At the same time Presbyteries were requested to report upon the schools within their bounds—the subjects taught and the number of scholars, when the schools met and how the schoolmasters were maintained.² Thus one of the immediate effects of the Bothwell case was to rouse the Church to more vigorous activity.

Apparently, too, the State was to support the Church in its claims; for, in 1803, an Act was passed by Parliament which seemed to give to the Presbytery the absolute control of the parish school. Every parish schoolmaster elect, armed with attestations of his having taken the oath of

¹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp. 846-7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 875.

allegiance, had to repair to the Presbytery to take trial of his sufficiency in respect of morality and religion, and of such branches of literature as might be deemed by the majority of heritors and ministers most necessary and important. Upon which the Presbytery was directed to see that he signed the Confession of Faith and Formula of the Church of Scotland. Its judgment or determination as to his qualifications for the office of schoolmaster could not be reviewed or suspended by any court, civil or ecclesiastical. On the face of it, this Act, while reducing the decisions of the House of Lords to nullity, appeared to settle the dispute in favour of the Church.

But the 'Civil Courts rendered this control inoperative, by the review which they were entitled to exercise as to the proper formality of all proceedings before the Presbytery, and the due exercise of its legal authority'.¹ Since the Presbytery was not provided with a statutory assessor, and was thus without legal advice in matters of form and procedure, its decisions in practice were liable at any time to be overturned. In point of fact its power of effective control was considerably diminished, and from this time down to 1861 it possessed but a shadow of its ancient jurisdiction. With reference to the anomalous position thus occupied by the Church, a contemporary writer says :

The whole machinery of the Parochial System has been wrenched from its original close connexion with ecclesiastical authority. The jurisdiction of the Presbyteries, in determining the qualifications of the Master, is subordinate to that of the Heritors, who primarily determine the limits of the examination. The power formerly possessed to dismiss the Master, for incompetency or misconduct, has been practically rendered inoperative by the Court of Session. The annual visitation of the Presbyteries gives far less influence, than that wielded by the Heads of families, who pay the School fees. The Master is disposed to submit rather to the Heritors, who nominate him, determine the standard of his qualifications, award and pay his stipend, and settle the scale of School fees, or to the parents who

¹ Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, p. 331.

pay them, than to the Presbyteries, who possess only the shadow of their former ghostly power, exorcised by the rude interference of the Court of Session.¹

Thus the Act of 1803, while apparently increasing the powers of the Church over parish schools, in reality diminished it, and a second step was taken towards superseding ecclesiastical in favour of civil control.

In general, the relations between the Church and the burgh or grammar school were not so close as those between the Church and the parish school. At intervals, however, in the first half of the nineteenth century, we find the General Assembly and the Presbyteries putting forward their claims with varying success. In 1817 the former approved of the firmness and propriety with which the Presbytery of Brechin had asserted 'their undubitable right to examine schools of every description within their bounds' and accepted the apology of the Magistrates and Town Council of Montrose and their promise to give no opposition in future. In Stirling (1834), the Presbytery having claimed the right of inspecting the Grammar School, the Rector protested, but stated that he was willing to receive them as visitors *ex gratia*, and in this he was backed up by the Town Council. Five years later we read that 'the Council having learned that a Committee of Presbytery intend to visit the public schools are unanimously of opinion that the Presbytery have no right to do so, and resolve to support the schoolmasters in resisting any such encroachment on the privileges of the schoolmasters and the rights of the Council by every means in their power'. As nothing further was heard of the matter, it would appear that the Council was successful in its opposition.² Several similar cases might be quoted.

The secession of a large body of worshippers from the Established Church of Scotland at the Disruption in 1843 still further complicated matters. The Free Church thus formed began to plant schools of its own. But the 'Auld Kirk' claimed the right to pronounce judgment upon the

¹ Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, pp. 395-6.

² Hutchison, *High School of Stirling*, pp. 129-30

'sufficiencie, qualifications, and deportment' of all teachers—even of those who had joined the Free Church. Naturally the secessionists protested against such exercise of authority. In Campbeltown the schoolmaster, who had joined the Free Church, was deposed by the Presbytery of Cantyre. The case was taken to law. The argument was that, since the school was a burgh school and not a parochial, it fell outwith the jurisdiction of the Church. The judge, however, decided that, even though the school was a public grammar school for the burgh, and not simply the parish school, the Statutes of 1693 and 1707 held good. Judgment was therefore pronounced in favour of the Established Church and no appeal was lodged against the decision. Thus the Disruption divided the Church not only on questions of Church discipline, but also on the question of superintendence over education. These dissensions between the two sections of the Church, as to the right of superintendence, mark a third stage in the history of the decline of Church control over schools in Scotland.

A few years later a test case arose which seemed to restore to the Church its ancient power. But by this time public opinion was running strongly against the revival of such prerogatives, and in the sequel the victory of the Church served merely to accelerate parliamentary legislation. It happened that the Presbytery and Town Council of Elgin were at variance over the appointment to the Academy of two masters, members of the Free Church, as well as over the examination of the school. An action was raised in 1850 by the Presbytery against the Magistrates and Town Council with the object of vindicating its right to the jurisdiction, superintendence, and control of the Academy as a public school. The case extended over two years, and various judgments were pronounced. Ultimately it was decided that the Academy was a public high school, and as such was subject to the jurisdiction and superintendence of the Presbytery.

In consequence of this decision the Burgh and Parochial Schools Act was passed (1861). Henceforth, so far as burgh

or grammar schools were concerned, schoolmasters were no longer compelled to profess or subscribe the Confession of Faith or the Formula of the Church of Scotland, or to profess that they would submit to its government and discipline, nor were they to be subject to the trial, judgment, or censure of the Presbytery for their sufficiency, qualifications, or deportment in their office. With respect to the parish schools, however, there was no clause expressly repealing the superintendence which the Act of 1803 had continued in the ministers of the Established Church. But the schoolmaster was relieved of the examination and approval of the Presbyteries, and of subscription to the Confession of Faith and the Formula of the Church of Scotland ; instead, the schoolmaster-elect was for the future to be examined by examiners appointed by the University Court of each University in whose district the school was situated, and for this purpose the schools were grouped round the four Universities. On passing this examination, the schoolmaster was entitled to a certificate as evidence of his competency, and was required to sign a declaration to the effect that he would do nothing 'to the prejudice or subversion of the Established Church of Scotland'. Such continued to be the relation between the Church and the schools down to the passing of the Act of 1872, when the superintendence of schools was committed to School Boards popularly elected.

CHAPTER IX

THE PARISH SCHOOL

1600-1872

It has been pointed out above that to a certain extent the parish school combined the functions of an elementary school and a grammar school, and that this had been one of its distinctive features from early times. Indeed, many of the grammar schools were in all probability parish schools in their origin. The parish school and similar schools, therefore, in so far as they sent pupils directly to the University, are included in the scope of this inquiry. Moreover, the developments in education subsequent to the passing of the Education Act of 1872, require for their proper understanding some knowledge of the history and function of this characteristically Scottish school, which for several centuries occupied a distinctive and prominent place in the national life of the country.

In 1616 a serious attempt was at last about to be made to carry into effect the suggestion of the Reformers that a school should be planted in every parish, for in that year the Privy Council on the narrative that, 'as the Kingis Majestie, haveing a speciall care and regaird that the trew religioun be advanceit and establisheit in all the pairtis of this kingdome, and that all his Majesties subjectis, especiallie the youth, be exercised and trayned up in civilitie, godlines, knowledg, and learning, that the vulgar Inglishe toung be universallie plantit, and the Irishe language, whilk is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit,' gave directions to the effect that in every parish of the kingdom, 'whair convenient meanes may be had for interteyning a scoole,' a school should be

established, and a fit person appointed to teach the same upon the expense of the parishioners according to the 'quantitie and qualitie of the parroche'. And the Bishops were directed to see that the instructions were carried into effect.¹ Notwithstanding this enactment, there seems to have been some remissness upon the part of the Bishops, for in 1626 Charles I, in a letter from Windsor, sharply reprimanded them for not seeing that the Act was 'putt in execution with such exact diligence as was requisite in a matter of such importance'.

Some light may be thrown on the state of matters about that time by a perusal of two Reports on certain parishes. The first is contained in the Record of the 'Synode of that pairt of the Diocie of Saintandrois quhilk lyeth benorth Forth', which gives an account of the visitation of the parishes in the years 1611, 1613, and 1614. M'Crie says that 'this report affords, perhaps, one of the best means of ascertaining the exact state of schools within a short time before the first legislative enactment on this subject'.² This visitation, however, did not extend to *all* the parishes within the bounds named. It was found that the parishes of Lynlythgow, Fettercairne, Strathbrok, Falkland, Forground, Ebdie or Newburgh, Innerkillour, Kinfans, Kynnaird, Insh-ture and Benvie, Mains and Strikmartine, Bruntiland,

¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. x, pp. 671-2. With regard to education in the 'Ilis' we read in the 'Statutes of Icolmkill' (1609-10): 'The quhilk day, it being undirstand that the ignorance and incivillitie of the saidis Iles hes daylie inccressit be the negligence of guid educatioun and instructioun of the youth in the knowledge of God and good letters for remeid quhairof it is inactit that everie gentilman or yeaman within the said Ilandis, or ony of thame haveing childreine maill or famell, and being in goodis worth thriescor ky, sall put at the leist thair eldest sone, or haveing no childreine maill thair eldest dochter, to the scuillis on the Lawland, and interteny and bring thame up thair quhill thay may be found able sufficientlie to speik, reid, and wryte Inglische.' *Register of Privy Council (Scot.)*, vol. ix, pp. 28-9.

In 1616 it was enacted by the Privy Council, with the consent of the principal chiefs; 'that they shall send thair bairnis being past the age of nyne yearis to the Scollis in the Lawlandis to the effect thay may be instructit and trayned to wryte and reid and to speake Inglische.' *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis (Iona Club)*, pp. 121-2.

² M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii, p. 501.

Inneraritie and Mathie, and Errol were provided with schools; while Rascobie, Ferrie of Portoncraig, St. Vigeans, Kilspindie and Raitt, Liff, Logie and Innergowrie, Murhous, Manifuith, and Slammanane-Mure were not so provided.¹ The second is contained in the Report of the Parishes in the year 1627, in which valuable information concerning schools may be found. Unfortunately the whole of the reports are not available. Of the forty-nine extant, however, five make no reference to education, and only nine of the remaining forty-four notify that they possess schools. In the counties of Berwickshire and Midlothian, for example, fifteen out of those reported on, containing a total of about 5,000 communicants above sixteen years of age, were destitute of schools;² and of the one hundred and fifty-five men who furnished the reports, only ninety-four could sign their names. There seems to have been ample justification, therefore, for the reproof which Charles had administered to the Bishops in 1626.

A few years later (1633) the Act of the Privy Council was ratified by Parliament with this addition:

That the Bischops in thair seuerall visitatiounes sall haue power with consent of the heritors and most pairt of the parischioners And if the heritor being lawfullie wairnit refuissis to appear Then with consent of the most pairt of the parischioners To set downe ane stent vpon everie plough or husband land according to the worth for maintenance and establisching of the saids schooles And if any persone sall find himselff greived it sall be lawfull to him To haue

¹ *The Synod of Fife* (Abbotsford Club), pp. 1-72.

'Na scoolemaister for laik of moyen among the tounes men; bot thai ar appointit to have ane' (Ferrie of Portoncraig), p. 29.

'It is found that thei have ane commoune scole, tawght be Mr James Leslie, scolmaister, quho past his cours of philosophie in St. Salvatouris Colleg in St. Androis' (Ebdie), p. 32.

² Such statements as the following are quite common:

'There is great necessitie of a schoole' (Cockpen).

'No schoole nor fundatioun for ane' (Currie).

'We have ane gritt necessitie of ane schoole' (Keythumbie).

'No schoole but greit neid of ane schoole' (Lochreton).

'We haid ane schoole bot for laik of meanes it dissolved. It is necessarye' (Killin). *Report on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland*. (Maitland Club.)

recourse to the lords of secreit counsall for redres of any preiudice he may or doeth sustein And ordaines letters to be direct for chairging of the possessors for the tyme To answeare and obey the schoolmaisters of the dewties that sall be appointed in maner forsaid.¹

But the consent of the heritors and parishioners was not easy to obtain, and there existed no machinery whereby the law could be enforced. While religious troubles and the disturbed state of the country were in part responsible for the poor results which followed upon the Act, yet the greatest obstacle to its effective working was the opposition of the lairds, who showed a decided objection to stent themselves. The Bishop was apparently unable or afraid to compel them. It is refreshing to find a few years later (1638) that the General Assembly, after lamenting that the lack of schools 'doth greatly prejudice the growth of the Gospel, and procure the decay of religion', gave direction to the Presbyteries 'for the settling of schooles in every landward parochin, and providing of men able for the charge of teaching of the youth'.²

It is perhaps of interest, in an account of the development of the parish school in Scotland, to show how a well-regulated parish school in the seventeenth century was supposed to be conducted. Happily such information is available. Notwithstanding the unsettled state of the country—the Solemn League and Covenant had been signed two years before (1638), and war with the King was imminent—the inhabitants of the parish of Dundonald in Ayrshire, in 1640, are found interesting themselves in local education. At a public meeting arrangements were made for forming what might be considered as the first parish school of the district.³ Although the Regulations agreed upon are somewhat lengthy they bring before us so graphically the picture of a Scottish country school more than

¹ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. v, pp. 21; 22.

² *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 22.

³ The Act of the General Assembly (1638), and the fact that many in this parish signed the Covenant by proxy, may have brought about the planting of a school. See below, p. 114, footnote 3.

two centuries and a half ago that we are constrained to quote them in full:

Orders to be subscriybed be him who shall have charge of instructing the youth heirafter at the Kirk of Dundonald, whereunto he shall ty himself under paine of deposition from his office, in caice of failzie after deu tryall and admonitions.

1. The Mr. shall attend at all tymes when the children ar in schoole, and not suffer himself to be withdrawn by drinking, playing, or any other avocation.

2. If ony other inevitable necessitie draw him away a whole day, or the great part of it, he shall not fail to have some other in his absence to teach the schollers, and keip them in ordour.

3. If it shall happen that the Mr. have necessarie bussiness to withhold him longer nor the space of one day, he shall acquaint the Session therewith, or at lest the minister, if the haist of the matter cannot admit delay till the Session meit, that he may obtien libertie thairto.

4. Let the children in the moneths of October, November, December, January, February, meit in the morning at the sunne ryseing, and be dismissed at the sunne setting at nicht, excep some younger ones, or those who ar fardest from the schoole, of whom some consideratioun most be had. All the rest of the yeir let the hour of gathering in the morning be seavin of clock, and the hour of skailling six; and such as learns latein wold always prevent (precede) the rest a prettie space.

5. Let the schollers goe to breckfast at nyne hours, and conveyne againe at 10. To dinner lykways at 12 hours, and returne at one afternoone, so neir as may be.

6. Let the Mr. pray gravelie and religiouslie everie morning before the schollers at their first meeting, and so at even before he dismisse them.

7. Let a task be prescrybed everie evening to ilk scholler in the Lord's prayer, belief, commands, graces, or catechisme, according to their age and progresse, whilk let them say everie morning before they enter to their ordinar lesson.

8. It most be caerfullie attended that the schollers be present at the sermons on the Lord's day, that they sit round about the Mr. silent, hearkening modestlie, and reverentlie; and have in reddines what they have observed, to say on Mononday morning, at quhilk tyme, as also on ilk Saturday, before they goe home, the Mr. wold spend at least ane half hour, opening up to them the grounds of religion.

9. They who learne leatein most have a peice of that quhilk they have learned before, to say everie morning ; quhilk being accurately examened, let thair lesson in author and grammer, if they be that farre advanced, be taught ; and what difficulty occurs in them let it be pointed out to them. Let the pairts of their lesson quhairof they are to be examened be told them, whether belonging to etymologie or syntax in the author ; and whatever is to them obscur in the grammer.

10. Let them expone their lesson, and conferre of the parts thair of among themselves till nyne hours. When they enter at 10 hours let the Mr. heir them expone thair author and grammer. So much of the author as he may overtake, let it be examined at the said tyme, and what he misses then, let him overtake at one, afternoon ; that quhen they ar to give ane account of thair lesson, thair be no more to examein bot the grammer. Let them get a theme to turne into latein everie day betwixt elevin and twelve hours before noone, quhilk also let be a common wryting hour to the whole schoole. Let the theim be accuratelie examened ather presentlie after the making of it, or when they say thair lessons. Let everie day's lesson be said before they skail, both play-days and others, that it prejudge not the morning peice.

11. Because no certane number of lessons can be appointed for them who learns Scots to get, it being a thing that depends on the tyme of the yeir, the number of schollers and thair proficiencie, in respect quhairof some will have more to say at a lesson, and other less, quhilk will take up tyme accordinglie ; therefore, in this let the Mr. doe all that possible may be. And that thair be no neglect thairin, let the minister, with the best skilled of the gentlemen, everie quarter of the yeir at leist, stand by the Mr. in the schoole, till in our presence he have hearkened throuch all the children learning Scots ; that according to the tyme spent thairin quilk they shall missour with a glasse, they may direct the Mr. how many lessons he shall give them in the morning, before and afternoone, quhilk thair direction the Mr. shall be bund to fulfil as if heir it were particularlie expressed. At quhilk tyme also the said minister and gentlemen shall take inspection of the estate of the schoole, try the childreins' proficiencie and the Mr.'s diligence and fidelitie in fulfilling all the points of his charge, and shall make report to the Session, that the Mr. may be commended and encouraged ; or rebuked and admonished,

accordingly, as the matter shall require. And if it shall be fund that the Mr. ussis ony fraud to elude the tryall, as that he cause the children say longer lessons that day nor they usse ordinarlie, or ony such, that this shall be ane fault mereting removeal from his charge.

12. For the childrein's better profiting, let those who are farder advanced in reeding Scottish, whether print or writ, each of them have the charge of a young scholar who shall sitt besyde them, quhom they shall mak perfyte of his lesson, against the tyme come he shall be called to say, on the negligent pairteis perril, quhilk of the two soever it shall be fund to have bein. And let the eldest scholler themselves speir at the Mr. quhat words they are ignorant of in thair own lesson. It being alwayes provydit that the elder scholler his fundering of the younger hinder not himself in his learning.

13. Let a special care be had of the childrein's wryting who ar meit for it. Let the hour named betwixt 11 and 12 be alotted to that exercise everie day, and farder to those whois speciall ayme that is. Let the Mr. make or mend their pens, rule their paper, cast their coppeis, take inspec-tioun particularlie of every one's wryting, point out the faults; and learne them be ocular demonstratioun in his own practeise before them how to mend. The Mr. most lead the hands of young beginners, stand over thair heid for thair directioun; and be goeing throuch all for thair furdurance.

14. As the Mr. would be cairfull and conscientious to teach his schollers good learning, so wold he also learne them good maners, how to carrie themselves faschionable towards all. And for that purpose wold learn them gestures of courtesie to be ussed towards himself in the schoole, thair parents at home, gentlemen, eldersmen and others, of honest fashion abroad. He wold put in thair mouths styles of compellation sutable to each one's place, to whom they speik; and how to compose thair countenance, eyes, hands, feet, when ony speiks to them, or they to them; and that they be taucht to abandoun all unciveill gestures, as skarting of heid, arms, &c.

15. And because mony, far lesse the tender youth, ar unable to abyde continuall bensell of learning, let them have for preserveing and sharpening thair ingynes some recreatioun on the ordinar dayes, Tuysday, Thursday, and Saturday, in the afternoone, for the space of ane hour in the winter, or from October to Februar, and two hours the

rest of the yeir. Bot let the Mr. sie that they play not at ony unlawfull or obscene pastime, or such as may ather reddilie defyle or rent thair cloaths, or hurt thair bodies ; and let a convenient place be choissin neirby the schoole, bot not at all the church-yaird, nor ony part of it, quhilk is 'Dormitorium Sanctorum', a place for no ordinarie ceveill imployment, let be the ludicrous ; it serving for mourning rather than for playing and sporting, quhilk wold be keipit honest and separat for the owne usse.

16. And finallie, as without discipline no companie can be keipit in ordour, so leist of all unbridled youth, thairfor it shall be necessarie that thair be in the schoole a common censour, who shall remarke all faults, and delate them to the Mr., of quhom account wold be taken once a week. And for more perfyte understanding of the childreins' behaviour thair wold be a clandestine censor, of quhom none shall know bot the Mr., and he who is employed in that office, that may secretlie acquaint the Mr. with all things. And according to the qualitie of the faults the Master shall inflict punishment, strecking some on the loof with a birk wand, belt, or pair of tawse, others on the hips, as their faults deserve ; bot none at ony tyme, or in ony cace, on the heid or cheiks. And heirin especiallie is the Mr. to kyth his prudence in takeing up the severall inclinations of his schollers, and applying himself thairunto by lenitie, allurements, commendatiouns, fair words, some little rewards, drawing from vyce, and provoking to vertue such as may be wone thairby ; and others by moderat severitie, if that be fund most convenient for their stubbornness. And let the wyse Mr. rather by a grave, austere, and authoritative countenance and cariage, repress insolence, and gaine everie one to thair dewtie then by strocks ; yet not neglecting the rod quhair it is needfull.¹

It should be noted that the employment of the elder scholars for the 'furthering of the younger' foreshadows the monitorial system of a later age ; while the appointment of a 'clandestine censor' resembles very closely a custom in vogue in the Jesuit schools at the same time.²

Besides making efforts to plant schools in every parish,

¹ Paterson, *History of Ayrshire*, vol. ii, pp. 8-9 ; and *Scots Magazine*, March, 1819.

² In the same century a similar custom having regard to the speaking of Latin prevailed in Harrow School. For the 'lupi' in the German Universities see above, p. 39.

the General Assembly, in 1642, agreed to recommend Parliament to make provision for the *maintenance* of schoolmasters. Clearly the Act of 1633 had not been altogether satisfactory. Consequently, in 1646, Parliament passed an 'Act for founding Schools in every Parish', by which it was attempted to *enforce* the planting of schools and the fixing of a stipend for the schoolmaster. Considering how prejudicial the want of schools in many congregations had been, and how beneficial the founding of such would be to the Kirk and Kingdom, the Estates of Parliament ordained 'that there be a Schoole founded, and a Schoole master appointed in every Parish (not already provided) by advice of the Presbyterie: And to this purpose, that the Heritors in every congregation meet among themselves, and provide a commodious house for a Schoole, and modifie a stipend to the Schoole master, which shall not be under Ane hundred Merks,¹ nor above Tua hundred Merks, to be paid yeerly'. For this purpose they were to 'set down a stent upon every ones Rent of stock and teind in the Parish, proportionally to the worth thereof, for maintenance of the Schoole, and payment of the Schoole masters stipend'. If the heritors failed in their duty it was enacted that the Presbytery should nominate 'twelve honest men within the bounds' to see that the provisions were carried into effect. Legal means, too, were appointed by which the schoolmaster might recover arrears of salary due him.²

That there was much need for some such compulsitor is evident from contemporary records. It is well known that in many districts great numbers were unable to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, and were thus reduced to subscribing it by proxy;³ while in others 'subscription' was taken by show of hands. Even in such a centre of learning as St. Andrews we find in the Kirk-Session Records of 1645 the following:

¹ £5 11s. 1½d.

² *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. vi, p. 216.

³ In the parish of Dundonald out of 222 signatures attached to the Solemn League and Covenant (1638) no fewer than 179 were subscribed by proxy, because 'they could not wryt themselves.' *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. v, p. 674.

Being regretted that ther is so many idle young children capable of instruction in this citie that is not put to scooles to be instructed, their parents also being so careless of them, therfoir it is ordaned that the elders and deacons sall take notice of these in their quarters that are able to put their children to the scooles and doth not, and also to take up the names of those within ther quarters who are not able to put their children to scoole to be instructed, to bring their names to the session that these may be known who are not able, that they may be put to scooles, and the session to pay the quarter payment at the scooles.¹

The immediate effect of the new Act was to give an impetus to education in the parishes. In the year following the enactment we read that in Dunfermline the Session, considering the great ignorance of children and youth in the parish, especially of the poorest sort, for lack of education at school, determined that schools should be set up in the several quarters of the landward of the parish, especially in those parts that were remotest.² Two years later, in Kingarth, 'it was ordained by the common consent of the elders that there be ane school in the parish, to be kept in the most central part thereof; and for maintenance to the scholemaster, ordanes and applots halfe ane merk upon every merk yeirlie land within the parish, and 40 pennies upon every cottar that brooks land, 20 lib. out of the penalties, with his other casualties—viz. out of every marriage 12s., out of every baptism 4s.'³

From 1646 until the Restoration the planting of schools and the appointment of schoolmasters were regulated by the advice of the Presbytery and without doubt, if we may believe a contemporary writer, matters were growing much better generally under the eight years' peace during the English usurpation.⁴ The same writer states, with reference to the period which followed the return of Charles II, that he observed that knowledge did much increase beyond what could have been expected, by reason of 'people's being grounded in reading at the schools under

¹ Lee, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 440-1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 438.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

⁴ *Life of Wodrow* (Wodrow), p. 172.

presbytery,¹ whereas many of the elder people, even the generality by far in the country in those times could not read, and so necessarily remained ignorant'.² Kirkton, in writing of the same period, says that 'at the king's return every parochie hade a minister, every village hade a school, every family almost had a Bible, yea, in most of the countrey all the children of age could read the Scriptures'.³ Very properly, exception has been taken to this 'idyllic description of the educational condition of the time'.⁴ No doubt there were parishes in the Lowlands to which it could be applied, but certainly not to any in the Highlands.⁵ The truth is, the effectiveness of the Act of 1646 depended too much upon the minister—who was not invariably 'painful and diligent'—and 'the twelve honest men'. As Graham says, 'it was all very well to appoint twelve honest men to look after the heritors; but who was to look after the twelve honest men?'

Such was the condition of affairs in education before and at the Restoration, when the Act of 1646 was still in operation. In 1662, however, it was repealed, and the accounts of education in Scotland for some time after are not very encouraging. That many parishes were providing a good education and sending their quota of students to the University at that time is true; but it is equally true that a large number of parishes were without schools during the reign of Charles II. In the Reports sent to the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1696, Presbytery after Presbytery reports the lack of a parish school in its bounds and a salary for the schoolmaster, and where salaries are reported, they are often extremely small. Teachers were not seldom compelled to undertake extraordinary combinations of extraneous duties

¹ i.e. Before the Restoration.

² *Life of Wodrow* (Wodrow), p. 172.

³ Kirkton, *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 64.

⁴ Graham, *Social Life of Scotland*, pp. 418-9.

⁵ *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), xlvii, xlix, li.

'Most of the Inverness parishes, indeed, as well as the West Coast parishes, were without parochial schools for twenty or thirty years after Culloden.' *Ibid.*, li.

to eke out their livings. The schoolmaster of Dalryell, in 1682, however, seems to have been passing rich in his capacity of session-clerk, schoolmaster, precentor, kirk-officer, and maker of graves for the dead—such is the order in which the offices are named in the Kirk-Session Records—for, by way of emoluments, he was assigned ‘10s. Scots for the quarter wage of every child he teaches—the poor children’s quarter to be paid out of the kirk-box ; all the profit of marriages and baptisms that formerly belonged both to the schoolmaster and kirk-officer ; half a merk as his benefit of the mortcloth, together with the ordinary benefit of the making of the graves, and 5 merks yearly for a house and school, also a boll of meal to take up his house’.¹

In 1696 Parliament re-enacted the main provisions of the Statute of 1646 with such alterations and additions as experience had shown to be necessary. It was decreed that schools and schoolmasters should be provided not by the advice of the Presbytery as formerly, but by that of the heritors and ministers ; that the stent should be imposed, not according to the rent of stock and teind in the parish proportionally, but conform to each heritor’s valued rent with relief for one-half against the tenants ; and that the ‘twelve honest men’ should be superseded by the Commissioners of Supply² of the county. It was also decreed that the ‘provideing of the said Schools and Schoolmasters is a pious use within the paroch’, and one to which vacant stipends might be applied.³ These two Acts, 1646 and 1696, were the legal foundations of the Parochial School System of Scotland. Down to 1803 no further legal provision was made for schools.

In spite of the obligatory nature of these Statutes many parishes still remained unprovided with the means of education. For more than fifty years the Church strenuously urged upon the heritors their duty, and even continued to subsidize education as in pre-Revolution times. The General

¹ Lee, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 440.

² Commissioners of Supply were equivalent to Commissioners of Land Tax in England and were first established in 1667.

³ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. x, p. 63.

Assembly, in 1704, agreed that there should be a voluntary contribution made, by way of subscription, in each Presbytery within the Kingdom for erecting schools and educating youths in the Highlands and Islands,¹ and in the following year appointed and ordained that ministers should take care to have schools erected in every parish, conform to the Acts of Parliament.² Yet we read that there was no school at Girvan in 1706 nor at Dailly in 1711, where the heritors assigned as a reason 'that there was no need of a school in the parish, from the circumstances of it, the houses being far scattered'!³ The Assembly, however, must have felt it was necessary to stiffen its back, for in 1719 it appointed the Presbyteries, wherever the heritors proved contumacious, to present a petition to the Commissioners of Supply, and if the latter 'refused or shifted' the settling of a school, to commence a process before the Lords of Council and Session, who had, so it was stated, already in like cases provided salaries and houses for schoolmasters. Notwithstanding this, in 1735, in the Presbytery of Ayr twelve parishes were reported to be without schools; while Auchinleck, in 1752, and New Cumnock, in 1758, were even then unprovided. 'Indeed, so difficult in some instances was it to get heritors to fulfil their statutory duty of building school-houses, that the unassessed portion of the public had to offer assistance by voluntary contribution.'⁴ More particularly were there deficiencies in the Highlands of the Northern and Western parts of Scotland. Although the General Assembly had again enjoined the Presbyteries to take proper and legal steps for settling schools (1749), no less than 175 parishes were reported as being without them in 1758.⁵

But by this time other factors were working against progress in education in Scotland. Even had every parish been provided with a statutory school, there were serious

¹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 330.

² *Ibid.*, p. 384.

³ Edgar, *Old Church Life in Scotland*, pp. 74-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-9. In Kilmarnock the Kirk Session thought it expedient to apply to the Magistrates to authorize a public voluntary collection.

⁵ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 733.

defects inherent in the Act of 1696 which materially diminished its effectiveness. For one thing, no provision had been made for variations in population, and for another, no account had been taken of probable economic developments. With regard to these it must be observed that the eighteenth century was one of great progress. Coincident with the expansion of trade, the growth of industrial centres, and the rise of mining and fishing communities, the population had increased considerably, and what, from the point of view of provision of schools, was of perhaps more importance, it had distributed itself very unequally. If in addition we note that some of the parishes were of considerable extent,¹ and, in the north, occasionally consisted of detached districts separated by arms of the sea, it is easy to see that in many a parish it was quite impossible for one school to supply the requirements of education.² So much was this the case, and so little elasticity was there in the Act, that in course of time a subsidiary system of schools, supported mainly by religious bodies, came to be grafted on the legal parochial system. One of the most important of the educational agencies which came into existence for the purpose of supplying deficiencies in school accommodation, particularly in the Highlands, was the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, which, constituted into a corporation by letters patent in 1709, was for many years strongly supported and financially assisted by the Church of Scotland.³

The second factor has reference to the emoluments of the parish schoolmaster. The salary as fixed by the Act was at

¹ The parish of Gairloch (Ross) was 32 miles by 18 miles. *Statistical Account* (Scot.), vol. iii, p. 89.

² Dr. Shaw, in his *History of the Province of Moray* (1775), says: 'I well remember when from Spey-mouth (through Strath-spey, Badenoch and Lochaber) to Lorn, there was but one School, viz. at Ruthven in Badenoch, and it was much to find, in a parish, three persons that could read and write.' (p. 306.)

³ By the year 1781 its capital amounted to £34,400 and the number of schools supported by it 180—almost entirely in the Highlands and Islands. As its work was practically confined to assisting purely elementary schools, the Society falls outwith the scope of this inquiry. See *Education Commission Report* (1865), pp. 378–88.

the time not disproportionate¹ to the teacher's rank and position in society. It placed him upon an equality with the more opulent farmers, respectable tradesmen, and citizens. But money gradually suffered a depreciation in value as the century advanced, and its purchasing power came to be considerably diminished. In 1748, and again in 1762, the parochial schoolmasters approached the General Assembly with a view to gain its support in their efforts to induce Parliament to increase the statutory salary. The Church brought their case under the notice of the Lord High Commissioner, but without success. On the one hand, the opposition of the landed proprietors was too powerful, and, on the other, the ministry of George III was too much occupied with foreign politics and their resultant domestic complications to pay much heed to a few dominies in North Britain. The agitation was renewed in 1782, when a temperate and lucid statement of the position was published. In this memorial appeared the following: 'Ninety years have produced such a change, and so great improvements, in the agriculture, navigation, commerce, arts, and riches of this country, that £15 sterling per annum, at the end of the last century, may be considered as a better income than £45 sterling per annum at this present time. Suppose, then, that in Scotland there are 900 parochial schoolmasters, which is very near the truth; 800 of these will be found struggling with indigence, inferior in point of income to 800 day-labourers in the best cultivated parts of this island, and receiving hardly half the emoluments of the menial servants of country gentlemen and wealthy citizens.'² In point of fact the schoolmaster seldom received above £16 yearly all told—many in fact received no more than £8; of this sum about one half was statutory and fixed in accordance with the terms of the Act, the rest, contingent and uncertain. The heritors, instead of paying their proportion

¹ As showing the purchasing power of money at the time, we note that 1 dozen eggs cost 1d.; 1 lb. of mutton, 1½d.; a boll of meal, 6s.; shoes, 10d. a pair. Graham, *Social Life of Scotland*, p. 427.

² *Statistical Account (Scot.)*, vol. xxi, p. 339.

themselves, usually parcelled it out in fractions of about 3*d.* or 4*d.* among their tenants, so that the schoolmaster had to collect it the best way he could; often he failed to get the whole of it.¹ The variable part depended upon his occupancy of certain offices, such as session-clerk, precentor, beadle, and even grave-digger,² and the small emoluments attached thereto. Occasionally he received other gratuities.³ Over and above these, which were after all only mere pittance, he received the school wages or fees, averaging about 2*s.* per quarter for each pupil.⁴ At that time, a day-labourer, working at the commonest work, earned from £13 to £15 a year; while the lowest domestic servants of the nobility, gentry, and wealthy citizens received £8 or £9 yearly, besides food, lodgings, and clothes.

For this handsome remuneration the parochial schoolmaster was expected to be, and often was, a man of University education, capable of teaching, in addition to the ordinary elementary branches, Latin, Greek, French, and Mathematics.⁵ At times he added Bookkeeping and Navigation to his list of qualifications.⁶ So long as the schoolmaster possessed attainments such as these the parish school remained as of old one of the direct avenues to the University. But the lamentable state of matters in the latter part of the

¹ *Statistical Account (Scot.)*, vol. *xxi*, p. 308, footnote.

² *Ibid.*, vol. *xvi*, p. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. *iii*, p. 378: 'Cock-fight dues, which are equal to one quarter's payment for each scholar.'

Boys attending parish and burgh schools during the greater part of the eighteenth century took cocks to school at Shrove-tide (Fasten's E'en) for a day's amusement of cockfighting under the superintendence of the schoolmaster, who laid claim to the slain birds and the fugies (craven birds).

Ibid., vol. *v*, p. 66: 'Generally 2*d.* or 3*d.* from each scholar on handsel Monday, or shrove Tuesday.'

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. *viii*, p. 480: 'When there is any vacancy in the harvest, the schoolmaster's year is only reckoned three quarters!!!'

⁵ *Statistical Account*, vol. *v*, p. 65; vol. *vi*, p. 27; vol. *vii*, p. 45; vol. *xi*, p. 168; vol. *xiii*, p. 61; vol. *xviii*, p. 253. In 1706 the General Assembly recommended that there should be selected for parish schoolmasters 'men who have passed their course at colleges or universities, and taken their degree, before others who have not, *ceteris paribus*'. *Acts of General Assembly*, p. 395.

⁶ *Statistical Account*, vol. *iii*, p. 188 (Lochgoil-head).

eighteenth century threatened to kill this tradition. The Reports of the parishes at that time teem with references to the unhappy state of education and the pitiable position of the schoolmaster.¹ No doubt some parishes continued to maintain past traditions,² but many found it impossible. In some cases the office had fallen altogether into the hands of mere schoolboys, who abandoned it as soon as something better offered itself ;³ in others it was a refuge for necessitous or disabled persons,⁴ or a 'perpetual employment for some languid insignificant mortal, hardly deserving the shelter of a charity workhouse'.⁵ Many of the teachers were recruited from the ranks of old soldiers⁶ and bankrupt tradesmen. Some, in order to eke out a livelihood, had recourse to shopkeeping, which 'created a prejudice against the school';⁷ others, in addition to their pedagogic duties, betook themselves to land-measuring and marl-gauging; and others, again, to auctioneering.⁸ Indeed, 'no man who possessed strength to lift a mattock, or to wield a flail would accept of such a disgraceful pittance.'⁹ Clearly, then, the Act of 1696 was operating most effectively in checking the development of the parish school. But twenty years had still to elapse before Parliament saw fit to legislate again for schools and schoolmasters.

Notwithstanding these defects, the parish school stood for much in the life of the Scottish people in the eighteenth century. With reference to this, a Scottish writer, fully conversant with the parish school system, in the early part of the following century, pays the school a high tribute: 'Our peasants have been intelligent—our artisans orderly; there has been diffused over the whole lower and middle regions of the community a remarkably steady air of piety thoughtfulness, and virtuous pride; and the mere talent

¹ *Statistical Account*, vol. vii, p. 146 (Glasford).

² *Ibid.*, vol. xvi, p. 133; vol. xiii, p. 61; vol. vi, p. 27 *et passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 178 (St. Andrews, Lhanbryd).

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 520 (Kirkpatrick-Juxta).

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 81 (Urr).

⁶ *The Museum*, December 1864.

⁷ *Statistical Account*, vol. iv, p. 433 (Glenholm).

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. xiii, p. 98 (Strathmartin). ⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. xvi, p. 54 (Heriot).

and industry of the people have given them an importance in the world, which they could neither have acquired from their wealth nor numbers, nor from any of the ordinary sources of national influence. For all this, we are mainly indebted to those schools ; which have owed their success to their being erected upon a permanent and conspicuous foundation, and to that particular constitution which made the teaching of them worth the notice of persons of ability. The best and greatest men whom Scotland produced during the last century, received their education at parish schools ; and nothing, for a long time, was associated with stronger feelings of gratitude and reverence in the minds of the people, than those village academies from which so much of their own happiness, and of the worth and genius of the nation proceeded.' ¹

It will be convenient at this stage to give an illustration of the origin of schools which were partly parish and partly burgh. As early as 1606 a Grammar School was founded in Inverary at the expense of the Common Good, and the first teacher was paid from the same source. But in the following year part of his salary was borne by a voluntary collection from the gentlemen and ministers adjacent

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, xlv, p. 110.

Regarding the wide-spread ambition of the Scottish people to see their children educated we read : ' Sometimes the poorer people in country places—where the feeling is always strongest—will contrive to carry on the education of all their children, or probably two or three at once, at the expense incurred for one only. They do so by sending them to school on alternate days, and causing them to labour while at home, to keep pace with their more fortunate schoolmates. We have often witnessed this in the south of Scotland. When the masters will not accept pupils on such terms, they are sent alternate months or quarters. In some cases, when contributions for fuel in winter are demanded, the levy is not made of money. Each scholar brings with him his proportion of *peats*, at stated intervals, to heat up the little school-houses ; and though the assertion may appear ludicrous, we could point out men who have arrived at an eminence at the Scottish bar, who, in their juvenile days, strung up a peat with their books, and scudded across the bleak wastes with them to school.' Chambers, *Book of Scotland* (1830), p. 370.

Some of the eminent men educated at parish schools were Principal Robertson, Principal Leechman, Dr. Reid, Dr. Macknight, and Dr. Beattie ; Ruddiman, the grammarian, was likewise educated at a parish school.

to the town. Apparently, as the school was providing for the educational needs of the district as well as of the town, it was thought unnecessary or undesirable to plant a second one in the district, and thus a burgh and parochial school came into existence. Usually such schools existed in small towns, where the founding of two schools would have been a burden on the community. Since in every case the heritors contributed towards their maintenance, it was only natural that they should share in the management and patronage. Accordingly, various arrangements were made to ensure that proper representation was given both to the Town Council and the heritors. In course of time a custom of making the teacher of a burgh and parochial school the local session clerk and precentor arose, and the additional emoluments helped to augment a salary not too generous; so fixed did this custom become that a lawsuit arose in Kinghorn, towards the end of the eighteenth century, between the Town Council and the Kirk Session, in which the former took the view that the schoolmaster was, *ex officio*, session clerk and precentor. Sometimes the schoolmaster was elected by one body, the other assenting, and sometimes by both; and, as might be expected, occasionally they disagreed over the appointment.

Grant gives a good example of the conversion of a burgh or grammar school into a burgh and parochial school.¹ In 1808 the Grammar School of Crail was considered by the Town Council insufficient for the educational wants of the town and landward parish, and the landward heritors were approached in order to secure their co-operation in providing for another school. The heritors, however, would do nothing, and the matter practically lapsed for more than ten years. At last, when it was shown that the burgh school was strictly a grammar school, with private endowments, the Presbytery of St. Andrews after considering the question decided (1820) that the parish of Crail was entitled by Act of Parliament to a parochial school, and that, if the heritors did not hasten to provide one, application would

¹ Grant, *Burgh Schools*, p. 102 et seq.

be made to the Commissioners of Supply to compel them.¹ This had the desired effect, for in 1821 the heritors and Town Council agreed 'to establish a parochial union school, the heritors paying the maximum salary and the town paying £12 annually for the support of a master'. An arrangement was also made whereby the patronage was administered by the heritors with the minister at one time, and the Town Council and minister at another, in alternate succession.

With the advent of the nineteenth century opinion was ripe for further legislation for parish schools, and, in 1803, an Act was passed which embodied provisions to meet the defects we have noticed in the previous one. In the first place, the schoolmaster's salary was raised to a maximum of four hundred merks and a minimum of three hundred, with provision for revision every twenty-five years; ² furthermore, the heritors had to provide a dwelling-house for the schoolmaster, consisting of not more than two apartments ³ including the kitchen, and an enclosed garden or its money equivalent.⁴ In the second place, in the case of parishes of great extent or population, and parishes consisting of districts detached from one another by the sea, where one parochial school could not be of effective benefit to the whole inhabitants, it was competent for the heritors and minister to fix a salary of 600 merks and to divide it among two or more teachers. But in respect of providing this higher salary they were exempted from the obligation of providing schools, dwelling-houses, or gardens for the teachers among whom the salary was to be divided. In this way arose branch parish schools, or 'side' schools, as they came to be called.

But this was merely tinkering with the business, particu-

¹ See above, p. 117.

² The average price of a chalders of oatmeal for the preceding twenty-five years was to be taken as a basis: the minimum salary was fixed at one and a half chalders and the maximum at two chalders.

³ Lord Cockburn, in his *Memorials* (p. 186), relates that Lord Advocate Hope assured him that when the Bill was passing through Parliament he had considerable difficulty in getting even the two rooms, and that a great majority of the lairds and Scotch members were indignant at being obliged 'to erect palaces for dominies'.

⁴ The average price of two bolls of oatmeal. Macdonald, *The Law relating to National Education* (Scot.), pp. 23-4.

larly as regards provision of schools. A superficial view of the position discovers at once its instability. The increment to the schoolmaster's salary was a trifling amount; his dwelling-house no more than a 'but and a ben'; his professional qualifications remained undefined; and he had to be a member of one particular religious denomination—the Established Church. Moreover, the school was superintended and regulated by the Presbytery—in practice this meant the parish minister—which conducted a periodical examination, the value of which was seriously questioned. The salary of the schoolmaster, the subjects of school instruction, and the school fees were settled by the heritors¹ and minister conjointly. This state of matters was generally unsatisfactory, and changes in the immediate future were inevitable. We shall therefore consider subsequent developments under the heads of (1) provision of schools, (2) the position and emoluments of the schoolmaster, (3) State subvention and control.

With regard to the first, the defects already discussed, though somewhat aggravated by further developments in population and commerce, still existed, and were tending to render ineffective the means proposed by the Act for making good the deficiencies in school accommodation. According to a Parliamentary return in 1818 it was estimated that twice as many were being taught at private schools as at public, and that 50,000 pupils were without any school accommodation. In the Highlands half of the population were unable to read, and above one-third of the whole population were more than two miles, and many thousands more than five miles, distant from the nearest schools.² The Church of Scotland was so impressed with the need for additional schools, that in 1825, by means of voluntary contributions, it organized a system of 'Assembly' schools principally for the Highlands and Islands.³ In 1836 it

¹ The heritors had to be 'proprietors of land in the parish to the extent of at least one hundred pounds Scots of valued rent'.

² *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xlvi, pp. 112-15.

³ In 1864, 200 were in existence, and, in addition to the usual elementary subjects, 'History, Mensuration, Book-keeping, Geometry,

brought to the notice of the Government that the districts connected with the forty-two Government churches in the Highlands were unprovided with parish schools. Accordingly an Act was passed in 1838 for the endowment of a school in each of these *quoad sacra* districts. Thus arose 'Parliamentary' schools, which, however, were not regarded as full parish schools: while the heritors provided the school and schoolmaster's house, the State paid the salary of the teacher.¹ Again, in the following year, the Church set on foot a scheme for promoting in each of the *quoad sacra* parishes throughout the country the establishment of at least one school constituted in the same manner as the parochial schools of the civil parishes.² Such schools, in that they were supported by allowances granted by Kirk Sessions from their ordinary funds, such as church collections and casual mortifications, were named 'Sessional'.³ They were practically confined to towns.

On the secession of the Free Church, in 1843, many parochial schoolmasters who refused to take the tests which required them to belong to the Established Church were compelled to resign their appointments.⁴ Accordingly, one of the first efforts of the new Church was to establish its own schools, and within five years almost £40,000 was raised by subscription for this purpose. Part of this sum was expended in the erection of Normal Schools at Edinburgh and Glasgow, part in

Algebra, Latin, Greek, French, German, Music from notation, and Drawing' were to a certain extent taught. Evidence of S. S. Laurie and Dr. Cook, *Education Commission Report* (1865).

¹ The Commissioners of the Treasury were authorized to appropriate from the Parliamentary grant for education in Scotland certain sums which were invested in Government stock, and the dividends to be applied in terms of the Act.

² Evidence of John Gordon, *Education Commission Report* (1865).

³ In 1850 there were as many as 410 Sessional, Private, Endowed, and Subscription Schools. *Minute of General Assembly Committee*, dated April 11, 1850.

⁴ In 1843 it was reported that 80 parochial teachers, 57 teachers of Assembly schools, and 27 teachers of schools connected with the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, had intimated their intention of adhering to the Free Church. Evidence of Dr. Candlish, *Education Commission Report* (1865).

the building of seven grammar schools, and part in providing schools somewhat on the plan of the parochial school.¹ The Education Committee of the Free Church, in establishing these schools, stated that they would gladly welcome the long-deferred national system, and disclaimed the idea of proselytizing. 'We do not plant our schools as nurseries of Free Churchism, nor do we ask our teachers to make proselytes to Free Churchism of their pupils. Our schools are really as simple and purely elementary schools for giving a good general education to the young, as were the best parish Schools before the disruption.'

It should be noted that with the 'disruption of the Free from the Established Church of Scotland, occurred the first positive tendency in Scotland to the creation of a system of public education, consisting of separate Schools in connexion with the several Religious Communions'.² In addition to the various classes of schools named above, schools in connexion with Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, United Presbyterian, and other religious communities were founded, as well as a large number of undenominational and private adventure schools.³ It was reported in 1867 'that whatever may be the quality of the education, Scotland is well, if not adequately, supplied with teachers and places of instruction'.⁴

Turning now to the schoolmaster, we observe that the practical effect of the Act of 1803, whatever the intention may have been, was to render his position such that neither neglect, cruelty, immorality, incompetency, physical infirmity, nor incapacity from age, was found sufficient for his displacement; because the Civil Court scrutinized, with

¹ In 1850 there were 626 schools connected with the Free Church.

² Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, p. 365.

³ *Education Commission Report* (1867), Appendix, p. 24, gives the following: Parochial, 917—76,493; Side, 189—10,073; Parliamentary, 27—1,617; Church of Scotland, 519—33,251; Free Church, 617—48,860; U.P. and other Presbyterian; 45—3,114; Episcopalian, 74—6,202; Roman Catholic, 61—5,736; Undenominational and others, 1,084—91,734; Private Adventure, 910—35,283. The first number refers to the schools; the second, to the scholars.

⁴ *Education Commission Report* (1867), p. xx.

microscopic power of jealousy, the forms of procedure, and quashed the Acts of Presbyteries whenever those forms were irregular.¹ *The struggle between civil and ecclesiastical authority had practically rendered the parochial schoolmaster independent.* Such continued to be the state of affairs until 1861, when more effective legal machinery was provided to take cognizance of alleged immoral conduct on the part of the schoolmaster and cruel and improper treatment of pupils. An attempt was also made to improve his position by fixing his salary at a minimum of £35 per annum and a maximum of £70,² by providing him with a dwelling-house consisting of *three* apartments besides the kitchen, and by arranging for a retiring allowance. The clause of the Act of 1803 regarding religious tests was abolished, and the examination of the schoolmaster was transferred from the Presbytery to the University. But 'the minister still retained, in practice, a very prominent part in the appointment of the teacher; his power of nominating him to certain parochial offices, often by custom conjoined with that of teacher, gave him a tolerably complete control; and the Presbyteries still retained the power of examining and superintending the schools'.³

With regard to State assistance and control we note that in 1832 a sum of money was set apart by Parliament⁴ to be administered by the Treasury for the purpose of aiding local effort in building schools for the poor.⁵ In 1839 a Committee of Council—the 'Education Department'—was constituted for the specific purpose of supervising the distribution of this money, and inspectors were appointed for the same purpose. A few years later (1846) the Committee of Council undertook to give aid in the *maintenance* of schools as well as in giving assistance to build them; at the same time the pupil-teacher system was instituted.

¹ Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, p. 385.

² Where two or more side schools had been or should be established in any parish, the minimum and maximum was fixed at £50 and £80 respectively.

³ Craik, *State and Education*, pp. 141-2.

⁴ £20,000 which was increased to £30,000 in 1839. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 17.

⁵ In Scotland such grants were administered by the Minister and Kirk Session of each parish.

In 1858, a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the whole question of popular education in England, and three years later presented its report. Already an important step had been taken, when, in 1860, the Minutes, under which the grant had been distributed, were collected and issued in the form of a Code. The immediate effect of the Commissioners' Report was to cause a revision of it. The new or Revised Code proceeded on the principle that the annual grants should not be made, as formerly, for particular objects—teachers' salaries, books, or apparatus—but should be calculated upon the number, the attendance, and the proficiency of individual scholars,¹ together with certain conditions as to the adequacy of school premises and the qualifications of the schoolmaster. This was the beginning in elementary schools of the system of payment by results as ascertained by individual examination.²

In Scotland, although schools were inspected and examined according to the terms of the Revised Code until 1872, great objections were made to the whole system, and, so far as the payments to elementary schools were concerned, the New Code was suspended until a Commission of Inquiry, appointed in 1864 to report on the schools in Scotland, had completed its work. Two fundamental principles of Scottish education were violated by the New Code: it discouraged the traditional practice of teaching higher work in elementary schools, and it tended to accentuate class distinctions among pupils.

Regarding the first, it was said that those who drew up the Code were not conversant with the traditional system of Scottish education. If teachers were to get no remuneration from the Government for teaching the higher branches of study they would have to discontinue the practice, and thus 'the pride and glory of a schoolmaster's profession would be destroyed; that considerable class of scholars who then went on to the Scotch Universities from the parochial schools, and others on their model, would cease to

¹ This involved individual examination in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic.

² The main facts in this paragraph are taken from the *Education Commission Report* (1867), chap. iv.

exist; the tone and character of the traditional Scotch parochial education would disappear, and their scholastic training would be reduced to the uniformity of English elementary schools'.¹ If confirmation were needed as to the kind and quality of the work of the Scottish 'elementary' schools, it was given in the rolls of the Humanity Classes in Edinburgh University, where in the session 1863-4 it was found that 20 per cent. of the students had come direct from parish and similar schools. On the other hand, that attention to the higher work in the parish school often meant neglect of the elementary branches was made abundantly clear by the Commissioners. It was not uncommon to find 'a class of three or four boys in Latin, two of them, perhaps, the minister's sons, and one the teacher's, about a fourth part of the school able to read well, and write well in copy-books, and to do a little Arithmetic, but the other three-fourths unable to spell, or to do the simplest sums in Arithmetic, and able only to read indifferently. It was quite possible that those three or four boys might go on to the University, and do well there, but what became of the rest of the school? They left it without having acquired even the rudiments of any sort of knowledge'.²

In the next place, the regulation regarding the social position of the pupils was also opposed to the traditions of Scottish education.³ One of the characteristic features of the parish school was the freedom with which it was frequented by pupils drawn from every rank of society. 'Upon its benches the children of every rank in life had met, and had contended for honours, earned only by higher natural gifts, or superior moral qualities. Those whom the accidents of rank and fortune had not yet separated had there formed friendships, which had united the laird and the hind through life, by mutual service and protection. Thus sentiment had overleaped the barriers which divide society into classes, to acknowledge the claims of personal feeling, and to lift humble merit from obscurity.'⁴

¹ *Education Commission Report* (1867), p. cii.

² *Ibid.*, pp. ciii-civ.

³ The grants were made to promote the education of children belonging to the classes who supported themselves by manual labour. *Ibid.*, p. cv.

⁴ Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, p. 335.

In 1867 the Commission gave in its report, in which, while advising the adoption of the Revised Code, with certain modifications necessitated by Scottish traditions, it pronounced strongly in favour of the system of Government inspection pursued by the Privy Council as being of the greatest possible benefit to the schools, and to the general education of the country. The relative values of Presbyterian and Government inspection had been fully considered. Teachers, parents, and heritors, the Commissioners stated, were almost universally in favour of the latter. One Divine aptly and pithily expressed his objections to the examination by the Presbytery in the following terms: 'Because the examiners were too near to the school, and too well known; because they had no power to enforce anything; and because they had to exercise delicacy.'¹

As matters stood just before the legislation of 1872 Scotland possessed a dual scheme of education.² On the one hand, a national system, consisting of Parochial, Side, and Parliamentary schools, established by law, maintained by local assessment and designed in theory to be commensurate with the educational needs of the country, but in practice wholly inadequate for this purpose and absolutely ineffective in large towns; and on the other, a Voluntary or Denominational system, costly and uncertain, furnishing more than two-thirds of the education in the rural districts and the main part in the urban. Both systems were aided by Government grants which, since they were distributed simply as aids to local effort, gave considerable assistance to those districts most competent to make provision for education and little or none to those least able to do so. The quality of the teaching, the state of the buildings, and the appliances of the schools, in the country as a whole, were in a large measure defective. Fortunately sectarian feeling was not too pronounced. Whatever may have been the case in particular localities, parents in general had shown

¹ *Education Commission Report (1867)*, p. xxxiv.

² That is, outside of the Burgh or Grammar Schools and other Secondary Schools.

little objection to send their children to schools belonging to denominations different from their own; the situation of the school and the merits of the teacher had weighed much more than religious differences. The country was all but unanimously agreed that Scotland was ripe for legislation on the lines of a compulsory National System such as would absorb the inadequate Parochial System and the unsatisfactory Voluntary System, and this was attained by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872.

CHAPTER X

THE BURGH OR GRAMMAR SCHOOL

1600-1872

IN considering the development of the grammar school from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, regard must be had to the general conditions of national life in Scotland during the same period. The seventeenth century was one of religious dissension and strife, which reacted most unfavourably upon education and literature. Where there was vigorous thinking it was almost wholly theological in its bent. The Revolution Settlement and the final adoption of the Presbyterian form of Church government gave the nation an opportunity of expressing itself in other ways. In the early years of the eighteenth century came the union with England and the reform of the Universities. While the Jacobite agitation was stirring the political world, the Scottish Universities were making advances in Philosophy, Science, and Medicine, and were soon to show that, if not in advance, they were at least abreast of their contemporaries. Meanwhile the country was progressing industrially and commercially. Wealth increased, manufactures developed, great cities arose. Towards the end of the century the spread of revolutionary principles brought into prominence the problems of social and political reform which were to attract so much attention in the nineteenth century. All these phases of national life reacted either temporarily or permanently upon the grammar schools.

Long before the Reformation, as we have seen, there were grammar schools in all the towns of any importance in Scotland, and in the main they were the schools for the middle classes. Down to 1872 they continued to provide the bulk of the secondary education in the country. Unlike the parish schools, they owed nothing in respect of their

origin to legislative enactments ; they grew up solely with reference to local needs. While their functions varied with the locality and the period, in general one element remained constant—that of providing an education which would prepare a pupil for the University. In Knox's scheme of education, one of the functions of his proposed grammar school was to prepare pupils for the college or higher grammar school, from which, after a four years' course, they might pass to the 'Great Schools'. As events turned out, however, no such intermediary institutions, linking the grammar school to the University, were erected, although one or two of the larger grammar schools developed courses of instruction which, under more favourable conditions, would have closely approximated to those proposed by the Reformers. Unfortunately, an organic system of correlated schools had not come into existence. Nor was there any common curriculum or development such as the Jesuit schools of the counter-Reformation period show.¹

So far as the schools were managed and financed locally they gave effect to the principle of local control and assessment ; but, in so far as they were devoid of any central or general control, other than that of the Church, which was ill-defined and often resented, they were quite distinct from their successors of to-day, which in one way or another have come under State control. In one aspect the superintendence of the Church, claimed so repeatedly and exercised so often, is an analogue of this State supervision. And this parallel is not confined to enactments regarding externals merely ; at least one instance has been given of recommendations regarding curricula emanating from the Church.²

For convenience of treatment the history of the grammar school, from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the passing of the Education Act of 1872, may be divided into three phase-periods. During the first, which extended past the middle of the eighteenth century, the dominant subject of the curriculum was Classics, and more particularly

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. vii, p. 674.

² See above, pp. 57-9, 90.

Latin ; the second period, which began about the middle of the eighteenth century and ran into the early part of the nineteenth, was a period of reaction against exclusively linguistic studies ; the third period was one of confusion both in educational aims and organization. We shall consider these periods separately.

I. CLASSICS PREDOMINANT

During this period the teaching of Latin was considered to be the primary function of the grammar school ; all other subjects were subordinate to it. The grammar school curriculum aimed at giving a pupil such a command of Latin that when he passed to the University he would be able not only to follow with ease the lectures which were delivered in it, but to converse in it. This being clearly understood, it is easy to follow subsequent developments.

At the outset of the century, we find the Scottish Parliament legislating with a view to establishing a common or universal grammar for the schools. Of all the legislation which Parliament at any time attempted in respect of schools, this was perhaps the most futile. No doubt a common grammar, recognized and used by all schools, at a time when books were not readily obtainable, would have brought some advantages ; but if it were the intention to reduce all to the same uniform methods of teaching—and the tendency would have been in this direction—it might have proved a very serious matter for education. Already the Privy Council, after much solicitation, had made a similar attempt and had hopelessly failed.

In 1607 a 'Comissioun anent grammer and teacheris thair of' was appointed 'to trye cognosce conclude and sett doun sic forme and ordour as they sall think maist meitt and expedient To be obseruit heireftir be all maisteris of grammer within this realme'. The preamble reads to the effect that

Oure Souerane Lord and estaittis of this present parliament vnderstanding the latine towng to be greatlie diminischit within this Realme to the heaue preiudice of the commoun

weall of the samyn And the speciall cause thair of to be the want of the vniforme teacheing of all the pairtis of grammer establischt be ane Law in all the pairtis of this Realme, wherethrow be the Curiositie of diuerse maisteris of scholis baith to burgh and land taking vpoun them eftir thair fantesie to teache suche grammer as pleasis them The youth quha be occasioun of the pest and vtherwayes being oft and diuerse tymes changeit to diuerse scholis and maisteris be alteratioun of the forme of teacheing ar haillely prejudgeit For remede quhair of it is thocht expedient be our souerane lord and Estaittis of this present parliament That thair shall be ane satlit forme of the best and maist commoun and approvin grammer and all pairtis thair of Collectit establischt and prentit to be vniuersallie teacheit in all the pairtis of this realme be the hail maisteris and Teacheares of grammer in all tyme cuming.

Furthermore, command was to be given to 'all maisteris of scholis To obey the samyn vnder the pane of deprivation of thame frome teacheing and payment of twentie pundis to the pure of the parochin quhair they duell'.¹ But the task set the Commissioners was beyond their powers; the national grammar never made its appearance.

In the meantime, however, Alexander Hume, who succeeded Rollock at the Edinburgh High School in 1596, had for several years been working away at a grammar of his own.² On its completion, in 1612, the Privy Council ordered it to be used in all schools in Scotland, but, largely owing to the opposition of the Bishops, who were unfriendly to Hume, his grammar did not come into general use.³ Some years later, in 1632, another grammarian, David Wedderburn, master of the Grammar School of Aberdeen, published a grammar which, partly through its own merits and partly through the support it received from the Convention of Royal Burghs,⁴ attained a large measure of popularity. In

¹ *Acts of Parliament (Scot.)*, vol. iv, p. 374.

² Humius (Alex.), *Grammatica Nova in usum juventutis Scoticae, et auctoritate Senatus omnibus regni Scholis imperata*. Edin., 1612, 8vo.

³ M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii, p. 413.

⁴ *Records of Convention of Royal Burghs*, vol. iv, pp. 527, 532. For example, the Town Council of Stirling enjoined 'all scoolis within burgh begin to teiche Wodderburne's grammer fra Michelmas nixt, and to send

the same year Wedderburn, desirous of obtaining a monopoly, made an appeal, ineffectual as it turned out, to the Privy Council that the 'short and facile grammar drawin up be him might be allowit and ordainit to be taught through all the schooles of the kingdome, and all other grammars dischargit'.¹ In course of time other grammars were produced, of which the most notable was Ruddiman's *Rudiments*,² issued in 1714, which in the eighteenth century achieved great popularity, running through no less than fifteen editions in the author's lifetime. It is curious to read Ruddiman's biographer, who, in 1794, extolled the work as one which would transmit the author's name with celebrity to every age, as long as the language of Rome should continue to be taught in the schools of Scotland.³ Ruddiman was practically the first grammarian in Scotland to give an *English* version with the Latin original; all other grammars, with one exception, had been written entirely in Latin.⁴

An examination of the courses of study of the Scottish grammar schools in the seventeenth century shows at once the extent to which Latin dominated the curriculum. The variations are few either in different schools or at different times. The master of the Glasgow Grammar School, in 1696, on being requested to give an account of his method of teaching, stated that the work in the school was carried on 'according to a standard formula, observed these hundred years and upwards in the said school'.⁵ On the other hand, some changes in the course of study in the Edinburgh Grammar School are observable within fifty years after the

to the agent of the burrowis for the bookis, and pay for them.' Hutchison, *High School of Stirling*, p. 67. In Peebles in 1636 the Treasurer was ordered by the Town Council to buy Wedderburn's Grammar and deliver it to the schoolmaster conform to the Act of the Convention of Burghs. *Burgh Records of Peebles*, p. 373. Similarly at Burntisland (1635), Cupar (1638), and Edinburgh (1696). Grant, *Burgh Schools*, p. 367, footnote.

¹ Chalmers, *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 24.

² 'The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue.'

³ Chalmers, *Life of Ruddiman*, pp. 62, 64.

⁴ Vaus, in his grammar, gave the declensions and conjugations in the vernacular.

⁵ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii, p. 536.

adoption of the scheme of 1598. The *Ordo Scholae Grammaticae Edinensis*¹ of 1640 shows that the school then consisted of five classes, instead of four as in 1598,² and that Latin comprised practically the whole course of study. In the second year, the pupil being about the age of ten or eleven, 'the masters were to teach, and the scholars to learn, in the Latin language'—a practice which was continued in the remaining classes.³ In the fifth and highest

¹ *First Year.* In the first six months the children were to be taught the principles of grammar, in *vernaculo sermone*, and at the same time to learn the Latin names of everything on the earth and in heaven. For the rest of the year they were to repeat a certain portion of grammar, and incidentally to be taught particular sentences relating to life and manners.

Second Year. In the first half, the children were to repeat daily certain parts of grammar, but more particularly as given in Despauter, and to translate the same into English, in addition Cordery's *Colloquies* were to be read; in the second half, the Syntax of Erasmus was to be taught daily, and the masters were to teach, and the scholars were to learn, in the Latin language.

Third Year. The boys were to repeat daily a portion of etymology and syntax, to be exercised in reading Cicero's Epistles *de Senectute*, *de Amicitia*; Terence's Comedies and Elegies, Ovid's *Tristia*, Buchanan's *Psalms*, and to translate Cicero's Epistles. They were to read the same *clara voce*.

Fourth Year. The boys were to repeat for the first month what they had already learned, and to be taught Buchanan's *Prosody*, with Despauter's Select Rules, and Buchanan's Epigrams and Poetry. During the other months, they were to be exercised in poetry, and in the practice of the rules of grammar; to read Virgil, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Horace, Buchanan's *Psalms*, and to translate Cicero, Caesar, and Terence. The beauties of these authors were to be explained to the scholars.

Fifth Year. The boys were to study the whole rhetoric of Tulaeus [Tully] and the greater part of the compendious Rhetoric of Cassandæus. They were to read Cicero's *Orations*, and the short speeches in Sallust, in Virgil, and in Lucan. They were to read distinctly and audibly, and to declaim. Chalmers, *Life of Ruddiman*, pp. 88–90.

² A fifth class, in which were taught Rhetoric and the Elements of Greek, had been added in 1614. Steven, *Edinburgh High School*, Appendix. Compare this with the scheme of study proposed in Knox's College.

³ Down to the eighteenth century regulations are frequently met with forbidding the use of any language other than Latin within the school precincts. We meet with them in Elgin (1649), Dundee (1674), Glasgow (1685), and Dumfries (1724). In most cases the infraction of the rule meant punishment—*sub poena ferulae*. Note that the Colloquia of M. Cordier (1564) show the monitorial system, common in Paris and many German schools at that time, in operation; *inter alia* it appears that one of the duties of the monitor was to report boys for not speaking Latin. Woodward, *Education during the Renaissance*, pp. 161, 162.

class provision was made for the study of Rhetoric and the pupils were trained to declaim. In 1710 the curriculum was again revised. Principal Carstares and seven Professors of the University drew up a scheme which, while differing in the selection of authors to be read, followed broadly the lines of the previous one. Latin was again the only subject of study. Similarly in Glasgow in 1685, and in Aberdeen a few years later, new schemes were adopted which made provision for the teaching of Latin only. With the single exception of Rhetoric, Latin was the one subject to which any serious consideration was given and for which any definite and extended course of study was provided.¹

Previous to entering upon a grammar school course, pupils were required to have had a preliminary education in English or Scots such as would enable them at least to read and write, and regulations to this effect appear in connexion with the Grammar Schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow in the latter half of the sixteenth century.² In 1612 Alexander Hume recommended pupils to remain at the *Schola Anglica*—a school separate from the Grammar School—until they had completed their ninth year.³ In Glasgow, too, the preliminary elementary education was given apart from the Grammar School in separate English schools in the town; and that such schools were fairly numerous may be judged from the fact that in 1639 the Town Council thought fit to limit the number to four. In Aberdeen, an Englishman was granted permission by the Town Council to ‘teache the youthe within this burgh in

¹ In the Edinburgh Grammar School a writing class was instituted in 1593, but as it was optional the attendance was probably only meagre. In 1704 we find that the Town Council requested the Rector and his colleagues to use their influence in its favour. *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 34. In 1628 the Town Council of Aberdeen appointed a teacher of Writing and Arithmetic for the Grammar School. In 1643 a loft was erected for the use of the masters and doctors, and for the ‘benefit of the scoollars for writing thairin.’ A further notice of the teaching of writing under the supervision of the master of the grammar school is found under the date 1700. *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Aberdeen* (Burgh Records Society).

² See above, p. 76.

³ Steven, *Edinburgh High School*, p. 44.

wreitting and arithmetik' (1607)¹; while a few years later visitors were appointed 'anes at least everie moneth to visite the haille schooles',² a fact which points to the existence of several schools in the Burgh.

The curricula, so far considered, have been those of the grammar schools in the University towns. It would seem that the influence of the University was directed towards keeping the schools in its immediate vicinity strictly grammar or Latin schools. On the other hand, the grammar schools away from the University towns developed somewhat differently. From an early date such subjects as English or Scots, Writing, and occasionally Arithmetic appear to have formed part of their usual course, or at all events to have been taught in the schools.³ In this respect they approximated very closely to the parish schools; indeed it was not uncommon for a parish school to advance in course of time to the status of a grammar school.⁴ There seems a tendency, however, as the burgh increased in size, to disjoin English or Scots from the grammar school and to provide a special school for it, though still under the control of the Town Council. Thus the Scots or English school in Paisley was separated in 1684 from the Grammar School. In Stirling a similar attempt was made in 1718, although it did not succeed until 1740. In Dumfries, about 1724, English was taught apart from the Grammar School.⁵ In 1731, English and Latin were taught in separate schools in Haddington, while in Peebles there were two schools in 1766, if not before. On the other hand a counter movement is seen in Linlithgow, where there was but one school for English and Latin from 1712 onwards. The curricula

¹ *Extracts from Burgh Records of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), vol. ii, p. 293.

² *Ibid.*, p. 379.

³ In such grammar schools as those of Stirling (1620), Burntisland (1620), Paisley (1646), Peebles (1655), Dumfries (1663), and numerous other smaller schools.

⁴ In Dingwall, in the middle of the seventeenth century, we read of a parish school which 'flourished until it acquired the status of a grammar school'. *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. xlviii. Again, in Kilmarnock, in 1727, the parish school became the Latin or Grammar School. *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 143.

⁵ McDowall, *History of Dumfries*, p. 600.

of these schools appear to have been much less conservative than those in the University towns. The latter were directly affected in their aim, and hence in their courses of study, by their proximity to the University. During the period when Latin was practically the only subject taught in the larger grammar schools it is not unusual to find such subjects as Greek, French, Bookkeeping, Navigation, Arithmetic, Mathematics, and Drawing,¹ either one or more, included in the work of the grammar schools remote from the University. But even in these schools the main branch of study, the curriculum proper and taught by the principal teacher, was Latin.

A few facts regarding the teaching of French, in continuation of what has been given above, may be of interest.² When taught in the grammar schools it was apparently taught as an 'extra'; at all events, when permission was granted to a teacher to give lessons in French, it was generally given on condition that there should be no interference with the ordinary curriculum of the school.³ As early as 1574 the Town Council of Edinburgh not only allowed a Frenchman to set up a school to teach his own language, but also gave him a salary of £20 a year.⁴ In 1635 the Town Council of Aberdeen granted a teacher a licence to teach French, and 'for that effect to put up ane brod or signe befor his schoole doore'.⁵ In Stirling it

¹ Book-keeping in Ayr (1721), Stirling (1728), Perth (1729), &c.; Navigation in Dunbar (1721), Ayr (1727), Dundee (1735), Banff (1762), &c.; Mathematics in Perth (1718), Dunbar (1734), Kirkcudbright (1765), &c. Drawing in Ayr (1673), Perth (1777), Dundee (1786), &c. Grant, *Burgh Schools*, pp. 398 et seq.

² The following may throw some light upon the methods of acquiring languages. The reference is to John, Earl of Cassillis, who in 1619 was granted a licence by the Privy Council 'to depart out our dominions into the pairtes of France, Germany, and the Low Countreys, thair to remane for his instructioun in languages and doing his other lawfull effairis the space of fyve yeiris.' *Register Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. xi, p. 501.

³ Ayr (1761) and Greenock (1772).

⁴ Maitland, *History of Edinburgh*, p. 34. To instruct children in the 'French Tongue, Arithmetick, and Accompts; for each of whom he was to receive the Sum of Twenty five Shillings, Scottish Money, yearly; and a Sallary of Twenty Pounds annually', during the Council's pleasure.

⁵ Morland Simpson, *Bon Record*, p. 64.

was taught as an optional subject in 1755, and possibly before. Numerous other schools might be cited as teaching this language in the eighteenth century.

In the early years of the seventeenth century the Grammar School of Edinburgh had a staff of teachers consisting of a principal master and four regents or doctors, the latter advancing in turn with their classes, which were then handed over to the Principal. The regenting system or system of 'rotating'¹ was not adopted by all the grammar schools. For one thing, there was no grammar school at that time with so large a staff as the Edinburgh School, and, for another, the doctors or under-masters were not always appointed to teach Latin. It was not until near the end of the seventeenth century that the Glasgow Grammar School had attained to a staff consisting of a Rector and three doctors, the latter 'rotating'.² In 1602 the Aberdeen Grammar School was conducted by two conjunct masters, who shared 'the sowme of fourscoir pundis' between them, with, of course, the fees in addition.³ In 1671, at which time there was a principal master and two doctors, the regenting system was adopted. In Stirling, two doctors, one for Latin, the other for Scots or English, assisted the master at least as early as 1603, at which date we read that they were to have 'burde and intertenement' from the parents of pupils in the burgh, each parent giving a day's board in regular succession.⁴ The Grammar School of Perth, in the early part of the century, was also large enough to require two doctors; but the Grammar School of Dundee did not attain to this rank until 1705. Such schools as those of Montrose, Ayr, Cupar, Dunbar, Peebles, Dunfermline, Burntisland, Haddington, and one or two others had one doctor only. In schools in which English or Scots was taught, this subject was taken by the doctor, the master teaching Classics. In most cases the masters or doctors, or

¹ See above, pp. 51, 81.

² In 1606 the population of Glasgow was only 5,000 at the most. Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. i, p. 395.

³ *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), vol. ii, p. 223.

⁴ Hutchison, *High School of Stirling*, p. 37.

both, received a small salary out of the Common Good of the burgh—if any existed.¹

Notwithstanding the complaint of David Wedderburn, the master of the Aberdeen Grammar School, that ‘he hes not ane stipend quhilk may encourage ane honest man to walk in sic a toillsum callin with chearfulness’, and his modest request that the Town Council will ‘sie that in sum mesure he may liwe as vther scholaris in vther professionis’,² it does not appear, in general, that the emoluments of the master were inadequate to his position.³ Where the Common Good failed, an assessment was often made.⁴ There was no legal obligation upon the Town Council to provide a master’s salary, and such contributions, whether from assessment or Common Good, were quite voluntary. Incidents such as occurred in connexion with the Grammar School of Linlithgow in 1707 are rare. We read that the Council, ‘considering that the schoolmaster’s sallarie of 400 merks is a heavie burden upon the toun, and having called Mr. Wair, schoolmaster, before them, and tryed him if he would give doun any of his sallarie, he altogether declined the same; therefor they have declared the school vacant against Candlemas next, against which time any other good schoolmaster is to be sought out who will serve cheaper.’⁵ On the contrary, the Town Council discharged its voluntary

¹ A list of the burghs which during the latter part of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth paid salaries to the schoolmaster, and the amount paid, is given in the *Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. ii, pp. 39–50. On page 46 we find that in Kinghorn (1627) a small sum was paid to ‘William Wells doctor of the scuill of the said burgh for guyding and keeping of the clock.’

² *Extracts from Burgh Record of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), vol. ii, pp. 366–7. As a result Master Wedderburne was allowed to raise the fees from 10s. to 13s. 4d. per quarter.

³ For example, the masters of Stirling and Perth Grammar Schools had 400 marks annually (fees in addition), while about the same time the first regent in Glasgow University had the same sum, the fourth regent receiving about 100 marks. *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. i, p. 237. The smaller sum of 200 marks granted to the Principal master of the Edinburgh Grammar School may be accounted for on the score of a larger number of pupils in the school, and consequently a larger sum in fees.

⁴ Inverurie (1612), Ayr (1675), Montrose (1691), and Campbeltown (1704).

⁵ *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 115.

obligation regarding the teacher's salary with remarkable punctiliousness for more than three centuries.

The Grammar School of Stirling, which in the first half of the century had two doctors in addition to the master, could afford to pay the principal teacher a salary sufficient to attract the master of the Grammar School of Glasgow in 1649. The terms of the agreement on that occasion, which throw some light upon the conditions under which the grammar school was conducted in the middle of the seventeenth century, read to the effect that the Town Council

'conduces and agries with Mr. David Will that for the spaice of ellevin yeiris nixt efter the terme of Mertimes last, the said Mr. David Will sall teache and instruct the haill youthe of this burgh and utheris quha sall happin to be presentit to him, within the grammer school thairrof, in all the pairtis of grammer and authoris, baith Latine and utheris, during the said spaice of ellevin yeiris, as principal Mr. of the said Grammer Scoole, and not withdraw himself thairfra at any tyme during the said space but licence socht and obtenit thairto of the counsall, and sall not leave the said scoole, after the expyring of the said ellevin yeiris, for the spaice of twa yeir thairefter, except he mak first warning and advertisment to the saidis provost, baillies, and counsall the spaice of half ane yeir of befoir, in quhilk cais it salbe lesum to the said Mr. David to leave the said scoole at his pleasure. For the quhilk caus the saidis provest, baillies, and counsall bind and oblissis thame and thair successoris and thair thesaurar present or quha sall be for the tyme, to content and pay to the said Mr. David Will yeirlie, during the said space of ellevin yeiris and langer during the tyme of his service in the said scoole, the soume of 400 merkis money of this realme, at twa termis in the yeir, Witsonday and Mertimes, be equall portiounes: quhair of the saidis provest, baillies, and Counsall, and John Robertstone, the present thesaurar, in thair name, has instantlie advancit and payit to the said Mr. David the soume of twa hundreth merkis money foirsaid for the first half yeir, to witt, fra Mertimes last to Witsonday nixt: of the quhilk four hundreth merkis money there is 250 merkis of auld stipend as he and uther maisters had heir of befoir, and the soume of ane hundreth pundis in augmentatioun to him during

his servyce and remaning Mr. at the said scole, in respect he is brocht heir fra the scole of Glasgow—provyding this augmentatioun be nawayis interpreit nor extendit in favour of any other Mr. at the said Grammer Schole, but onlie during the said Mr. David Will his remaining heir as said is, without the Counsall consent : and it sall be licentiat to the said Mr. David to tak for ilk tounes bairne in scollage ilk quarter of the yeir, 6s. 8*d.*, with libertie to him to tak of gentlemen and outtintounes bairnes according to the discretioun of the geveris as thai can agrie ; and finallie it is heirby provydit that all mail childring above sex yeiris of age sall cum to the said scoole, and it sall not be lesum that any above the aige foirsaid sall be teichit in any uther school within this burgh, nor any to keip scole for that effect.¹

The Town Councils, as patrons and managers of their burgh schools, condescended to extraordinary detail in drawing up their regulations for conducting the school. In 1649 the Town Council of Peebles prepared a detail of daily routine for the master of the Grammar School which reads as follows :

Imprimis, he shall daylie in the weik dayes enter to the said scoole at sex houres in the morning, and after morning prayer and psalmes with ane accompt of the scolleris their morning lessounes or pairtes be himself and his doctour teach the lessounes to the bairnes both learning Latine and Scottis vntill nyne houres thereafter.²

Item, he shall enter himself and doctour and conveane the saids bairnes daylie in the saids weik dayes at ten houres befor noone awaiting vpon them and teaching them till

¹ Hutchison, *High School of Stirling*, pp. 69-70. Will was master of the Grammar School from 1649 to 1652, and this document is dated December 4, 1649.

² In the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries the school day averaged about ten hours ; subsequently this was reduced to eight or nine hours. In 1595, in the Grammar School of Glasgow, the school assembled at 5 a.m. In 1613, at Stirling and Aberdeen, the usual hours per day were 6 to 9 a.m., 10 to 12 a.m., and 1 to 6 p.m. In many places, particularly in the North, the hours were regulated by the seasons ; in the winter there was a tendency to discontinue the early morning lessons. Even as late as 1803, however, the school day in Elgin was, during the summer months, 7 to 9 a.m., 10 to 1 p.m., and 3 to 6 p.m. ; while in the winter the hours were reduced to 9 to 12 noon, and 1 to 3 p.m.

ellevine houres, and therfra teaching and learning them to wryte, giveing them coppies and takeing compt of their wryteing till tuelve houres at noone.

Item, he shall enter againe to the said scoole, the bairnes being conveanit, at half hour to tuo afternoone daylie, and attend vpon the scoole and scollares, teaching them and takeing compt of their lessounes till ane quarter of ane hour befor six at nicht, dureing the whilk quarter of ane hour he shall make ane prayer reid ane chapiter in the Bible and sing ane psalme in a pairt of the psalme booke.

Item, it shall not be lesum to him to give the bairnes and scoollares the play in any dayes of the weik except vpon Tuysday and Thursday betuixt tuo and foure houres after noone and then preceislie to conveane them againe and vpon Sathurday fra tuo houres afternoone for all that nicht. And befor their going from the scoole vpon each Sathurday to give the bairnes learning Scottis each of them ane portioun of psalmes or catechisme and give ane compt therof vpon Sunday therafter after afternoone sermone.

Item, each Sunday he shall conveane the saids maill bairnes at eight houres in the morning and teach them ther Sundayes lessounes of scripture and catechising till the ringing of the second bell to the kirk, at whilk tyme he shall goe to the kirk with the scoollares in comelie and decent ordour, and in tyme of preaching mark dissorderis among them with censuring of them therfor.

Item, he shall conveane the saidis bairnes at ane afternoone and at the ringing of the said second bell address himself with them in maner forsaide.

Item, at the ending of the afternoone sermone he shall conveane the saids maill bairnes and tak ane compt of their noittes of preaching and of their Sundayes lessounes.¹

Item, he shall have his scooll lawes ordourlie sett doune in ane large brod and hung in the scoole for the scollaris

¹ In 1603, in Aberdeen, the Session finds it meet that those scholars who are come to discretion of years 'sall sitt in the loft of the said new kirk, and thair tak thair nottis of the preichingis, and ane of the maisters of schooll to sitt with thame in the said loft *per vices*.' *Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), p. 25.

Regarding the Grammar School of Glasgow in 1696, we read that 'every Sabath morneing the scholars conveens in the school, and after prayers the master walks to the Kirk with them; and after sermon returns to the school, wher he and his Doctors spend two hours in exacting ane account of the sermons and preaching, and proponing Catechetic questions.' *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii, p. 537.

informatioun, and for transgressing therof he shall punish them conforme to the nature and qualitie of the law.

Item, he shall not remove from his charge nor goe furth of the burgh without licence of the magistrattes.¹

Another function of the Town Council in respect of its burgh school, and one which it took very seriously, was that of visiting the school at regular intervals. While several sets of rules regarding 'visitations' have been preserved, one of the most instructive is that prepared by the Town Council of Aberdeen in 1659. We quote the regulations in full:

First, that there sall be foure solemne visitatiouns of the grammar scool ewerie yeir, ane at the beginning of ewerie quarter, at which visitatiouns the scollars are to be tryit by macking themes, interpretatiouns of authors, and analyzing the samene, macking verses, which will tack vp ane dayes work if richtlie done.

That there sall be ane register appointit for the visitations aforsaid, to be keepit by the master of the gramar scool, wherin sall be wretin the lawes of the scool printit about the yeir 1636, and also the act of counsell allowing thir overtours, wherinto he who at the quarterlie visitatioune sall gaine the premium sall insert his name with his own hand, and the point of tryall vpon which he ganit it, whither it wes by the macking of a theme, or of ane vers, or by analyzing, with the dait of the visitatioun, which must be set doune by *nonus idus et calendus*, and the master to help thes of the inferior classes to do this the richt way, and his name and theme to be affixit aboue his class till the nixt visitatioune.

Thridlie, to recommend to the master that ewerie scoller in the scooll haue ane antagonist who may be also equal as can be for stiring vp emulatioune, and that ewerie on may vait vpon his antagonist, that he get nocht help by anie other in his tryalls at the visitatioune.²

Fourthlie, to give the master the themes of the present visitatioun, to keep till the nixt quarterlie visitatioune, that ther proficiencie may be observit.

¹ *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Peebles* (Scot. Burgh Records Soc.), pp. 386-7.

² Cf. the methods adopted in the Jesuit schools for fostering the spirit of emulation. Compayré, *History of Pedagogy*, pp. 146-7; Quick, *Essays on Educational Reformers*, pp. 42-3; Butel, *L'Éducation des Jésuites*, pp. 22 et seq.

Fyftlie, that he who macks best vers haue ane praemium efter it appeirs to be his ovne macking by examinatioune therone, alsweel as he that macks the best theme.

Sexthlie, to recomend to the master that at ewerie quarterly visitatioun ther may be some publict actione, (1) ather by some *colloquium* of Erasmus actit befor the visiters, which are but short and easily performit; or (2), some authors repeatit, as Cato Sulpitius, a Psalme of Buchanan, ane Epistle of Ovid, or ane Satur of Juvenall and Persius, or ane Ode of Horas; or (3), what will be most proper for the hich classes, and to the Lambes¹ visitatioune, tuo short declamatiouns and a palemone, that by thes publict exercises the scollers may lerne boldness, and a vivacitie in speaking in publict. Some of these exercises wold be had at every quarterly visitatioun.

Sevinthly, that when tuo or mor ar equal in macking of a theme, or in other point of tryall, that they may be put to some extemporanian tryall for the beter discerneing of the victor who aucht to have the praemium, and that the visitours be carefull not to discourag the other, but when the praemium is given to the victor, his competitor may get his ovne due accomodatioune in publict, from his mouth that gives the praemium to the victor.

Auchtly, that the visitours try how the scollers profit in the grounds of religioun, by asking some questions of the Shorter Catechisme, and if they doe understand the meaning.

Nynthlie, that the visitors haue ane cair not to giue anie praemium in a partiall way to anie, as becaus they ar of kenned friends or allyance, seing that wer rather to discourage the mor deserueing, and incurage thes who wer more careles and neglent, and to bring the visitatiouns in a ludicre and contempt, and frustrat the cheaff end of them; thairfor the visitors wold be carefull to goe about this deutie seriously and not slichtly, seing that the doeing theroff so will tend greatlie, thorow Gods blessing, to the good of the scool and scollers, and doubtles be a meine to stir vp charitable herts to mortifie lands and moneys to pious wses for the increas of learneing and wertew, when they perceave that cair is takin to fulfill the will of others that hes mortified for such wsses before them.

Tenthly, that at the entrie of ewerie visitatioune, the act of counsell, which is to be in the first page of the Register, maid for approveing or recomending thir or others the lyke

¹ Lammas, August 1.

rules for visitatiounes be red, specialle at the quarterly visitations, for refreshing the memorie of the visitors.¹

In addition to visits by the Town Council there were corresponding visitations by the Church, and to show their character a quotation from the Presbytery Records of Elgin in 1640 is given, in which, by the way, we meet with an echo of the Civil War :

The modr and brethren visited the school of Elgin. The highest class had learned the 1st and 2d parts of grammar, and for their author had Virgil, his 2d book of the Eneid ; the 2d class, the 2d part of grammar and the 7th book of Ovid his *Metamorphoses* ; the 3d class, the 1st part of grammar, and Ludovicus Vivs his *Colloquia Scholastica* ; the lowest class, the rudiments of grammar. The scholars thair progress found not altogether such as were to be wished, qlk was imputed to the present troublesome times, and the untowardness and insolence of youth taking occasion thereupon.²

In other ways the Town Councils endeavoured to promote the success of their schools. Throughout the seventeenth century, and even in the eighteenth, notices are quite common of their compelling children to attend school, and inflicting penalties for non-compliance.³ The Councils, too, did their utmost to protect the schools in their charge by prohibiting the keeping of a school in a town already provided with a grammar school. They issued regulations regarding women teachers : in some cases, as at Paisley (1648), licenses were granted them ; in others, as at Perth (1666), they were permitted to teach boys under seven only. Again, in Edinburgh, in 1660 and in 1681, no one was allowed to teach Latin save the teachers in the Grammar School. In Brechin, in 1674, no boy above ten was permitted to attend any school, within or without the burgh, other than the Grammar School ; while in Crail, in 1728, a similar regulation for boys over six was passed. Examples could easily be multiplied. But in the eighteenth century the Town

¹ *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Aberdeen* (1643-1747), pp. 181-2.

² Lee, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 442.

³ Cupar (1628), Peebles (1637), Jedburgh (1641), and Stirling (1727).

Councils began to take a more enlightened view of education, and towards the end of the century they are found even encouraging 'adventure' schools.

In order to understand the relations between the grammar school and University in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it will be necessary to consider the curriculum of the latter and the modifications which came to be made in it. The ordinary course extended over four years. In the first or *Bajan* class, Greek was taught; in the *Semi*, Logic with Metaphysics; in the tertian or *Bachelor*, Moral Philosophy; and in the *Magistrand*, Natural Philosophy. While this sequence of subjects was not common to the four Universities, it indicates with sufficient approximation the general order of studies. During the greater part of the seventeenth century the regular course was taught by regents who, as in James Melville's time, carried their students through to graduation. About the beginning of the eighteenth century the teacher of Greek became 'fixed' or restricted to the one subject.¹ But so far as the Philosophy course was concerned the regenting system persisted until almost the end of the century.²

Latin and Latin literature still remained outside of the regular Arts course. Not that Latin fell into disfavour or disuse. On the contrary, 'in Scotland, as perhaps in some other small countries, such as Holland, the Latin remained as the language of literature after the great nations England, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, were making a vernacular literature for themselves. In the seventeenth century the Scot had not been reconciled to the acceptance of the English tongue as his own; nor, indeed, could he employ it either gracefully or accurately. On the other hand, he felt the provincialism of the Lowland Scottish tongue, the ridicule attached to its use in books which happened to cross the Border, and the narrowness of the

¹ *University Commission Report* (1830), p. 222.

² The regenting system was discarded in Edinburgh, 1708; in Glasgow, 1729; in St. Andrews, 1747; in King's College, 1754; and in Marischal College, 1799.

field it afforded to literary ambition.' ¹ But the teaching of Latin was still thought to be the function of the grammar school, and the student on entering the University was supposed to have sufficient knowledge of this language to follow the lectures which, as in pre-Reformation days, were delivered in it. The practice, too, of speaking Latin was still enjoined upon students, and, to ensure the effectiveness of the injunction, it was not uncommon for the masters to employ spies or clandestine censors to report the lapses into the vernacular of their fellow-students. ²

Before the close of the sixteenth century (1597) the University of Edinburgh had appointed a private Professor of Humanity, whose business it was to instruct those 'who on coming to the College were found unfit to enter the Bajan class'. ³ Even before this, in 1592, the *Nova Fundatio* of King's College had contemplated the appointment of a Professor of Humanity. ⁴ In Glasgow, too, a similar Professorship was instituted, but not until 1637. ⁵ But the Latin instruction given by these Professors formed no integral part of the Arts curriculum.

In course of time the grammar school came to look upon this as an encroachment upon its prerogatives. Clearly the University was poaching! Thus, in Aberdeen, when David Wedderburn, the master of the Grammar School, was appointed in 1620 to teach Humanity in Marischal College, it proved to be 'verie hurtfull and preiudiciall to the said grammer schole'. ⁶ In 1656 the Town Council of Edinburgh,

¹ Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, p. 182.

² In 1664 the following was enjoined: 'The severall maisters appoynt in their classes clandestine censors for this effect.' *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii, p. 482. Again, in 1705, we read: 'It being complained of by the principal, that the students doe almost all speak English, ordered that every regent appoint a clandestin censor to observe the students that all without exception may be censured who are found guilty.' *Ibid.*, p. 390. See above, pp. 39, 113.

³ Grant, *University of Edinburgh*, vol. i, pp. 190-1.

⁴ *Statistical Account (Scotland)*, King's College, p. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, University of Glasgow, p. 25. The office lapsed at the Restoration, was revived in 1683, again lapsed and was restored in 1708. *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii, pp. 347, 349.

⁶ *Extracts from Burgh Records of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), vol. ii, pp. 392-3. See also Rait, *Universities of Aberdeen*, pp. 268 and 273.

acting in the supposed interests of the Grammar School, appointed two of their number to wait upon the College of Justice, joint patrons with them in the Humanity Chair, and acquaint them that it had been moved to abolish the Humanity Class, as prejudicial not only to the Grammar School, but to the College itself, and to propose that the salary should be used in some other way for advancing learning. The proposition was not entertained.¹

What seems to have been the first real attempt to make Humanity compulsory upon students entering the University occurs in connexion with the University of Glasgow. In 1685 the Principal and Professors, together with the ministers of the city, convened at the request of the Town Council, and 'takeing into their serious consideration the concern and flourisheing of the Gramer School, and, in order thereto the necessity of ane good correspondence betwixt it and the Humanity Class', arranged that pupils of the highest class, on completing their course, should pass immediately into the Humanity Class.² Unfortunately, however, owing to lack of funds, the Professorship of Humanity lapsed soon afterwards and the scheme fell through.

In the Universities in the eighteenth century the attitude towards Latin underwent a change. In the first place its claims for inclusion in the ordinary Arts curriculum came to be more generally recognized, until at last, when provision came to be made for the higher teaching of this ancient language, it practically became a compulsory subject upon those who intended to proceed to graduation.³ In the

¹ Steven, *Edinburgh High School*, pp. 62-3.

² 'That the Schollars who first enter the Gramer School to learne Latine, shall continue in the same for fyve years, corresponding to qch there shall be fyve classes in the said school; the first, and highest, of which, after they have compleated their fyft year, shall be received in the Colledge to the Humanity Class, allenarly; and shall not *per saltum* ascend to any other superior class within the Colledge.' Cleland and Muir, *High School of Glasgow*, p. 4. See also *Records of Burgh of Glasgow* (1663-90), p. 1380.

³ In 1755, in Marischal College, Latin formed part of the first and second years' ordinary course. In 1782, in King's College, the Professor of Humanity decided to discontinue 'the teaching the Elements of Latin in the way of a Grammar School'. *Statistical Account (Scotland)*, King's College, pp. 117, 118, and *University Commission Report* (1837), p. 175. But even so late

next place the lecturing in Latin, as well as the speaking of Latin, was gradually discarded. 'The time was now come when it should no longer be considered beneath the dignity of a learned University to permit English to be spoken within its walls.'¹ In 1727, Dr. Hutchison introduced the practice of lecturing in English in the Glasgow University, and by this means not only was obscurity of language avoided, but the ancient and tiresome method of dictating rendered unnecessary.

It is important to know what were the preliminary qualifications necessary for entry upon the ordinary course in the University at that time. So long as Latin remained the language of the University, so long would a certain proficiency in it be essential. Accordingly, we find the General Assembly, in 1645, enacting that a student 'shall not enter to any higher classe than that wherein the Greek language is taught'—which of course meant the Bajan class—and that none shall be admitted 'to enter a student of the Greek tongue in any colledge, unlesse after triall he be found able to make a congruous theame in Latine; or at least, being admonished of his errour, can readily shew how to correct the same'.²

Consequently, admission to the University depended upon the interpretation given to the term 'congruous theame', and, as the sequel shows, it was construed very liberally, and often a mere smattering of Latin sufficed.³ Anything in the nature of an entrance examination, as we now understand the term, was then unknown. This lack of articulation between the grammar school and the University was evidently felt by the Town Council of Glasgow when in 1685 it invited representatives from the University to visit the Grammar School. In their report the Principal and

as 1756 half the students began with Greek and never attended the Humanity Classes.

¹ *Literary History of Glasgow* (Maitland Club), p. 11.

² *Acts of General Assembly*, p. 117. See above, p. 90.

³ On all fours with this was the easy admission to the Master's Degree. Wodrow complains that 'learning suffers by the too easy admission of many without exact trial, to the honorary title of Master of Arts'.

Masters of the College stated that they had found, both by their own examination and trial, and by the declaration of the Master of the Grammar School and ministers of the city, that none of the scholars of the highest class were fit to enter 'bajans in the colledge', and in consequence they were not to be allowed to enter or to be received by the 'Bajan Regent, however they may be offered to him by their parents'.¹ Thus more than two centuries ago a leaving examination, conducted on the principle of giving due weight to the opinion of the teacher, was held in the Grammar School of Glasgow. Still later, the Parliamentary Visitation² appointed in 1690, laid down the regulation that none were to be admitted to the first or Bajan Class, but on strict trial of their proficiency in the Latin tongue—a regulation, however, which does not seem to have been enforced.

But Latin was not the only point of contact between the school and the University. For many years the real objective of the majority of those who attended the University was the three years' Philosophy course. To these it became a matter of interest, at least from the point of view of economy, to enter upon their course as soon as possible. Efforts were often made to pass over the Bajan class and to enter at once into the Semi class. We have just seen that the General Assembly enjoined attendance at the Greek class upon all, and, as this class began with the rudiments of the language, the possibility of acquiring Greek elsewhere was overlooked. Although the Grammar Schools of Edinburgh, Glasgow,³ and Aberdeen,⁴ probably owing to their proximity to the University, had by this time dropped Greek from their curricula, this was not the

¹ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii, pp. 345–6.

² *University Commission Report* (1831), p. 222.

³ In Glasgow, in 1690, the curriculum was practically Latin throughout; but in the fifth year of the course 'a little insight in Greek' was given. *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii, p. 537.

⁴ The Town Council of Aberdeen, in 1661, licensed a teacher to teach 'young scollers entering the colledg, or enterit befor, in the Greek tounge, at such convenient hours and occasions as sall not be prejudiciall to ther instructioun and attendance in the gramar scooll and colledg'. *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Aberdeen* (1643–1747), pp. 199–200.

case with other grammar schools, as those of Stirling and Dumfries.¹ Accordingly attempts were made to prevent grammar schools from teaching Greek. In 1645 the General Assembly forbade the teaching of Greek in grammar schools except as a preparation to enter into college, and not in any sense with a view to exemption on entry. But more stringent was the decree of the Lords of the Privy Council in 1672, by which all persons who were not publicly authorized were forbidden to gather together any number of scholars and to teach them Philosophy or the Greek language, for the reason that the practice, besides being contrary to the laws of the kingdom, tended to the 'prejudice of Universities and Colleges by rendering some of the Professors therein altogether useless'.² Again, in 1695, the Principal, Professors, and Regents of Glasgow University petitioned the Commissioners appointed to visit and reform the Universities to restrain all grammar schoolmasters from teaching Greek, giving as a reason that it was well known that 'generallie these who come thence have but little knowledge in Greek'.³

One other notable attempt on the part of the University to obtain the monopoly of teaching Greek occurs towards the end of the eighteenth century. The Rector of the Edinburgh High School having started a Greek class, the Principal and Professors of the University sent a memorial to the Town Council to the following effect :

About the beginning of October the Rector of the High School opened a class for teaching the elements of the Greek language, which a considerable number of his scholars attend. In this, as well as all other Universities of Scotland, the Greek Class is elementary. The Professor begins to teach his students the first principles of that language, and instructs them in the grammar until they are capable of reading the authors in that language.

¹ In Stirling notices of the teaching of Greek are found in the years 1625, 1642, 1656. *Burgh Records*. In Dumfries a notice appears in 1663. McDowall, *History of Dumfries*, p. 595. Other examples are Ayr and Dunbar (1727), Haddington (1731), Dumbarton (1747), and Banff (1780).

² Grant, *University of Edinburgh*, vol. i, pp. 267-8, footnote.

³ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii, p. 522.

By this innovation of the Rector's, it is evident that an encroachment is made on the province of the University, and he deprives the Professor of Greek of students, who, according to the accustomed course of education, should have attended his class. We have inspected two sets of regulations concerning the course of education in the High School, framed by the Professors of the University, at the desire of the magistrates, and confirmed by acts of council, the one in A. D. 1644, the other A. D. 1710; and by both of these the High School is considered only as a Latin school, nor have any of the present Rector's predecessors thought themselves entitled to teach Greek.

As the magistrates and town-council are patrons both of the University and High School, we trust, in their attention to the welfare of both these seminaries of learning, that they will prevent any interference between them, and will not permit such an encroachment upon the University by a Master under their authority, but limit him to his proper function of teaching the Latin language, as sufficient to employ his whole time and attention.¹

Notwithstanding the somewhat numerous notices of the teaching of Greek in the grammar schools of Scotland in the eighteenth century, it does not appear that it amounted to much. Of this the Universities furnish fairly conclusive evidence. In a descriptive account of the University of Glasgow, written towards the end of the century, it was stated that since Greek was then seldom regularly taught in the public schools, the Professor was under the necessity of instructing a great number in the very elements of the language.² About the same time a similar statement was made by the authorities of Marischal College.³ And we have just seen that in Edinburgh the Professor taught the first principles.

The line of separation between the University and the school was not clearly drawn, nor was it intended to be ;

¹ Steven, *Edinburgh High School*, pp. 119-20.

² *Statistical Account (Scot.)*, University of Glasgow, p. 37.

³ 'As it is well known that the Greek language is little taught at our grammar schools in this country, and that an accurate knowledge of the elementary parts is of the greatest importance, the first part of the session is necessarily employed in teaching the grammar.' *Ibid.*, Marischal College, p. 117.

tradition was opposed to any exclusiveness, whether intellectual or social. The Universities of Scotland were the Universities of the people far more than those of England. Attendance at a University was considered a part of the ordinary education of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the country. 'It was anxiously desired by many, whose views were not directed either to the future prosecution of literary studies or to any of the learned professions, and by many who were intended for the ordinary occupations of the middle ranks of society. Students of this description constituted no inconsiderable proportion of those who attended the Universities. They attended only for the number of years which suited their convenience; they selected the classes which were best adapted to their peculiar views, and often began with those which were the last in any regular Curriculum.'¹ Practically no entrance examination was demanded of them. If the Professor were willing to accept them, and this was usually the case, they had immediate entry to the classes. Students of all ages attended; the most striking fact is the extreme youth of some. It was not uncommon to find boys matriculating before they were twelve years of age,² and many graduated at sixteen.³ Others, again, resorted to the University late in life; in some cases to prosecute the study of particular subjects in which they were specially interested, in others to renew the studies of early years.

2. 'MODERN' REACTION.

The second period is characterized by a reaction against the exclusive use of Classics as a means of education. It is not easy to define precisely the limits of the period. All that

¹ *University Commission Report* (1831), p. 25.

² Professor Steventon Macgill (1765-1840) entered Glasgow University when a little over ten. Irving, *Eminent Scotsmen*, p. 302. Professor Thomas Reid (1710-96) entered Marischal College about the age of twelve. *Ibid.*, p. 428. Dr. Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847) enrolled as a student of St. Andrews University before he was twelve. Hanna, *Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, vol. i, p. 9.

³ Colin Maclaurin (1689-1746) graduated M.A. at Glasgow when only fifteen years of age. Irving, *Eminent Scotsmen*, p. 311.

can be said is that, about the middle of the eighteenth century, a movement in favour of giving prominence in the school curriculum to subjects other than Latin and Greek began to show itself, and that it reached its culmination before the end of the century. It took the form of a demand for a more practical kind of education, one which would have a direct bearing upon the future occupation of the pupil.

It is not difficult to understand this attitude towards education. There was a spirit of restlessness abroad which was not confined to a criticism of the grammar school and its curriculum. Already a great reform movement had passed over the Universities, and there had arisen a school of philosophy in Scotland which was to make the eighteenth century distinctive in the history of Scottish thought. The country, too, was awakening to a sense of its possibilities in industry and commerce, and it was perhaps only natural that materialistic tendencies should accompany the rise of a middle class whose wealth depended upon its business enterprise. At the same time the rise of a critical literature on education had shaken the belief in Classics as the sole instrument of education. The ideas of educationalists such as Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Basedow, and others were not only becoming more generally known and better understood, but were gradually modifying educational opinion. On the Continent experimental schools on new lines had been opened and were attracting great interest in educational circles.¹ Such movements and influences as these were not without their effects upon Scottish educational opinion, although many years had to pass before the grammar school itself reacted to them. Nevertheless, experiments were made, and, as is usual under such circumstances, the more progressive of the reformers were not satisfied with half measures; the pendulum swung to the other extreme, and

¹ Christoph Semler established a *Realschule* in Halle in 1738, which, however, did not last long, but which was followed by others in different parts of Germany. A *Realschule* founded in Berlin in 1747 was considered in 1822 as the first really good example. Arnold, *Schools and Universities*, pp. 160-1.

schools were founded in which Classics were quite excluded from the curriculum.

Before this stage was reached the Town Council of Ayr, as early as 1746, had adopted a scheme of education for the Grammar School which foreshadowed the ultimate form in which the reaction was to express itself. In addition to Latin and Greek, the curriculum included Arithmetic, Geometry, Bookkeeping, Navigation, Surveying, Euclid, Algebra, and Natural Philosophy. To the Town Council it appeared as a course 'most proper for promoting the purposes of education, that is, the training up of the youth in the knowledge of literature, and preparing them for business in the most expeditious and effectual way possible'.¹ While we may not subscribe to the whole of this opinion on the aims of education, the course of study was a distinct advance in the direction of a modern curriculum. Ayr, indeed, was not singular in making provision for subjects other than Classics. English schools were common enough, and Writing or Commercial Schools, in which were taught Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, and often Mathematics, were springing up in burghs such as Dumfries (1723),² Stirling (1747),³ Banff (1762),⁴ and Paisley (1781).⁵

Such efforts, though important as indicating a fairly widespread reactionary feeling in the country, were in their influence far outweighed by the movement in Perth, where a memorial was presented to the Town Council in 1760, in which the argument in favour of a more practical system of education was given in the following terms :

In times not long past, all learning was made to consist in the grammatical knowledge of dead languages, and skill in metaphysical subtilties, while what had an immediate reference to life and practice was despised.

But Providence has cast our lot in happier times, when things begin to be valued according to their use,

¹ Grant, *Burgh Schools*, p. 344, footnote.

² McDowell, *History of Dumfries*, p. 600.

³ Hutchison, *High School of Stirling*, p. 156.

⁴ *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 16.

⁵ Brown, *Paisley Grammar School*, p. 317.

and men of the greatest abilities have employed their skill in making the sciences contribute not only to the improvement of the physician, lawyer, and divine, but to the improvement of the merchant, mechanic, and farmer, in their respective arts. Must it not, then, be of importance, to put it into the power of persons in these stations of life, to reap that advantage science is capable to afford them.

Although our different universities are at this time filled with men of distinguished abilities, yet both the time necessary for completing a course of education there, and the vast expense of such attendance, must prove an insurmountable bar in the way of the greater part who have both inclination and capacity for these studies.

As the outcome of this movement an Academy—the first of its kind—was erected and opened in 1761. The scheme of study included in the first year Natural Science, Mathematics, Navigation, Astronomy, and English; in the second, Natural Philosophy, Practical Geometry, Civil History, Logic, and the Principles of Religion. All teaching and exercises were to be in English. In course of time, Fine Writing, Drawing, Painting, and Chemistry were included in the curriculum.

The staff comprised two masters, ‘men of character and sufficiency,’ each with a salary from the Town Council of £50 a year, for which they were expected to teach three hours a day ‘except Saturday, when some public exercise should be performed in the common school’. The Rector, an honorary official, not a teacher, held office for one year only. It was his province to inspect the conduct of masters and students, to see that regular attendance was given and the regulations observed, and to collect the fees and divide them equally between the two masters, ‘so that there might be no interfering interests’.¹

¹ Detailed Curriculum :

First Year. I. A short view of natural history in its different parts, viz. the constitution of the material world, the nature and property of the elements, and vegetable, mineral, and animal economy, as a proper introduction, is well calculated to fix the attention and awaken the curiosity of young people, being all illustrated by experiments.

As the influence of this Academy was very great, we have felt it necessary to give a fairly detailed account of its origin. It represented the extreme reaction against Classical teaching, and probably for this reason overshot the mark. It had, however, its imitators in different parts of the country. In Dundee, an Academy was projected whose curriculum in 1786 comprised Mathematics up to Fluxions, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Drawing, Perspective, Geography, and, as distinct from Perth, a modern foreign language—French.

A general survey of the field of education in the burghs of Scotland towards the end of the eighteenth century shows

II. To this should succeed an accurate instruction in the arithmetic of integers, with the use and application of vulgar and decimal fractions.

III. This prepares the way for the study of the first six books of Euclid.

IV. Plain trigonometry.

V. Practical geometry in its different parts, such as mensuration, surveying, dialing, fortification, &c., in theory and practice.

VI. Algebra.

VII. The eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid.

VIII. Spherical trigonometry.

IX. Navigation, with the use of the instruments necessary to a sailor.

X. The practical part of conic sections, with the doctrine of projectiles.

XI. The general principles and most useful problems in astronomy.

XII. In this year an hour to be spent, on the Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, in the study of the English language, and an hour each Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, which hour shall be additional to the stated hours in the Academy for the Sciences.

Second Year. I. The business of this year might be very properly introduced with some lectures upon the history of philosophy, and the rise and progress of the arts and sciences.

II. A course of natural philosophy should follow, or practical mathematics, illustrated by experiments on the mechanic powers, and their applications and uses in life.

III. To be succeeded by a practical course of geography, as an introduction to civil history, which should then follow.

IV. The history of commerce, and a short view of its present state in the different nations, particularly in Britain.

V. A short and practical system of logic should now be taught, that the young gentlemen may be instructed in the nature of composition, and in the proper method of studying and reasoning.

VI. The whole course to be concluded with a short and distinct account of the principles of religion and duty, which ought to regulate our conduct in every station and condition of life.

N.B.—All the teaching in the academy, and exercises, ought to be in the English language. *Memorabilia of Perth* (1806), pp. 341–9.

a large increase in educational agencies, but an absolute lack of co-ordination among them. Some towns possessed grammar schools only ; others had schools for Writing, for English, or for commercial subjects, in addition to burgh schools proper. A grammar school had no definite meaning : it might teach Latin, or Greek, or both ; it might or might not provide for English, or Writing, or Arithmetic, or Commercial branches. Upon this chaotic medley, academies had recently been superimposed. The situation was further involved by the absence of any standard of aim : opposing views were held and advocated by extremists. In the Universities a current was moving in favour of the Humanities and an extension of the study of Classics ;¹ in the academies a counter-current was running strongly in favour of a wholly practical and utilitarian form of education. The towns, too, had begun to realize the hopelessly inadequate provision made for education : the school buildings in general were in a wretched condition, often mere hovels, ill-lighted, badly ventilated, poorly furnished.²

This condition of affairs could not continue indefinitely. Since the State did not intervene and assume full control over education, as in Prussia about that time,³ the problem resolved itself into one of curriculum, and under the circumstances compromise was inevitable. The necessity of providing better school accommodation was fully

¹ Cf. the Hellenic movement in Germany. The writings of Winckelmann, Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe had an important influence upon Prussian secondary education during the reform period of the early years of the nineteenth century.

² In Peebles, in 1749, the school-house was a vault below the Tolbooth. The school-house of Selkirk in 1791 was in the churchyard, and consequently 'both the church and the burial ground were much destroyed by the scholars'. It is related that a former pupil 'remembered finely of using the gravestones for see-sawing'.

The Elgin Grammar School was so dilapidated in 1800 that it was sold by public roup for £74 ! The English School was in such disrepair that it was sold for £54 !

In 1835 the Banff Grammar School 'was liable to frequent inundation. The lower class-rooms were sometimes three feet deep in water, and the scholars were occasionally prevented from attending it for weeks at a time.' *Education Commission Special Reports* (1868).

³ By certain articles in the *Allgemeine Landrecht* (1794).

appreciated by the communities themselves, and tended to accelerate matters. As a result of these various cross-currents a new type of school came into existence, which, while making provision for Classics, had regard to the demand for a more practical form of education. Curiously enough, these newer schools appropriated the title of *Academy*, which, as we have seen, had originally quite a different signification. In course of time academies came to be erected all over the country, and ultimately either absorbed, superseded, or entered into rivalry with the previously-existing grammar schools. At the same time the English schools, the writing or commercial schools, and the *original* academies¹ came, as a rule, to be merged in them.

As these new schools were founded under varying conditions, it is instructive to consider the origin of one or two of them. One of the first of the burghs to erect an academy was Inverness. The movement towards building a new school had originated in 1787, but it was not until six years later that the Inverness Academy was founded for the education of the families of the upper classes in the Highlands generally, as well as of the town and neighbourhood, the funds for the purpose having been collected by subscriptions at home and abroad. A Rector and four masters were appointed. In the first class it was proposed to teach 'English grammatically'; in the second, Latin and Greek; in the third, Writing, Arithmetic, and Bookkeeping; in the fourth,² Mathematics, Geography, Navigation, Drawing,

¹ In Perth, in 1807, the Academy and the Grammar School were brought together into one building known as the Public Seminaries, which was erected by public subscription at a cost of about £7,000, of which the Town Council contributed £1,000. *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 233.

In Dundee, in 1829, the Academy, the Grammar School, and an English school were brought together into one common building erected by subscription and known as the Public Seminaries until 1859, when a royal charter was obtained and the school incorporated under the title of the High School of Dundee. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

² Euclid's Elements with their application, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Mensuration of solids and surfaces, Geography with the use of the globes, Navigation with lunar observation, Architecture (naval and military); Practical Gunnery, Fortification, Perspective, and Drawing.

and Fortification; and in the fifth, Civil and Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Astronomy. The old Grammar School was discontinued, the Town Council agreeing to pay the salaries, formerly paid to the Grammar School masters, to the masters of the Academy.¹

Similarly in Ayr, in the next year, a committee was formed to collect subscriptions for a new school. In the meantime a new curriculum was adopted, and two years later the Academy was formally opened in the old burgh school, where it remained until the new buildings were ready in 1810. The scheme of study differed little from that of Inverness Academy, except that French, Bookkeeping, and Music were included.

Elgin Academy is a good example of the amalgamation of two schools, the Grammar School and the English School,² which had existed side by side for many years. When they were condemned, in 1800, on account of the ruinous condition of the buildings, and sold by public roup, a new building uniting the two was erected under the title of the Elgin Academy, and to the Classical and English departments was added a Mathematical department. This school was also built mainly by voluntary contributions.

Three schools—the Grammar School, a separate English Department, and a Commercial School—were amalgamated in the Kirkcudbright Academy in 1815. In the same year the various public schools in Montrose were brought together in one building under the designation of the Montrose Academy.³

Yet another type of school is seen in the Edinburgh

¹ *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 291, and *Statistical Account* (Scot.), vol. ix, p. 619.

² This was a relic of the old 'Sang' School or school for teaching music.

³ Other Academies were erected under similar circumstances, such as Dumfries, 1802; Irvine, 1814; Banff, 1835; Hamilton, 1848; Greenock, 1851; Dumbarton, 1860; Paisley, 1863; &c. *Education Commission Report* (1868). The laying of the foundation-stone was often attended with great ceremony. In Montrose the event was celebrated by a public procession of the Council and Freemasons. Under the stone was deposited a bottle containing the following coins: A Scottish bawbee, a farthing, an Irish farthing, a halfpenny, a penny, and a twopenny piece of the issue

Academy, the origin of which is thus recounted by Lord Cockburn: 'Leonard Horner and I had often discussed the causes, and the remedies, of the decline of classical education in Scotland; and we were at last satisfied that no adequate improvement could be effected so long as there was only one great classical school in Edinburgh, and this one placed under the town council, and lowered, perhaps necessarily, so as to suit the wants of a class of boys to more than two-thirds of whom classical accomplishment is foreseen to be useless. So one day on the top of one of the Pentlands—emblematic of the solidity of our foundation and of the extent of our prospects—we two resolved to set about the establishment of a new school. On taking others in council we found that the conviction of the inadequacy of the High School was far more general than we supposed. Scott took it up eagerly. The sum of £10,000 was subscribed immediately; and soon afterwards about £2,000 more. We were fiercely opposed, as we expected, by the town council; and, but not fiercely, by a few of the friends of the institution we were going to encroach upon. But, after due discussion and plotting, our contributors finally resolved to proceed, and in 1823 the building was begun. It was opened, under the title of "The Edinburgh Academy", on the 1st of October, 1824, amidst a great assemblage of proprietors, pupils, and the public. We had a good prayer by Sir Harry Moncrieff, and speeches by Scott and old Henry Mackenzie, and an important day for education in Scotland, in reference to the middle and upper classes. Mackenzie's vigour was delightful. Though about eighty, he made an animated address, exulting in the rise of a new school upon a reformed system.'¹

of the reigning king, a Montrose halfpenny, a silver penny, a sixpence, a shilling, an eighteenpence, a George II half-crown, sundry bank notes and gold coins, and various newspapers and almanacs; and finally the workmen were given five pounds 'to enable them to procure an entertainment'. *Burgh Records*. See also Steven, *Edinburgh High School*, p. 214 et seq.

¹ Cockburn, *Memorials of his Time*, pp. 414-5.

Apart from the question of reformed curriculum, the contemplated exclusive character of the Edinburgh Academy prompted Brougham (afterwards Lord Brougham), at a great entertainment given in his honour

In 1841 a school connected with the Scottish Episcopal Church was projected on the model of the great English Public Schools. Its object was defined as the combination of general education with domestic discipline and systematic religious superintendence. In addition to the public school proper, with accommodation for about 150 or 200 scholars from eight to eighteen years of age, it was proposed that it should contain a theological college for divinity students. Such was the inception of Trinity College, Glenalmond. The necessary capital was soon subscribed, and the buildings were opened in 1847-8.¹

Dollar Institution and St. Andrews Madras College, two other schools founded about this time, are examples of endowed schools. The former was erected with funds left for the benefit of a charity or school for the poor of the parish of Dollar and Shire of Clackmannan. The trustees to whom the funds were handed over in 1818 applied them to the erection and maintenance of this school.² As for Madras College, a sum of £50,000 was offered to the Town Council by Dr. Bell in 1831 for its erection under certain

at Edinburgh in 1825, to eulogize the High School as invaluable in a free state, in that men of the highest and lowest ranks of society sent their children to it to be educated together. He stated that when he was a pupil there one of his companions was a nobleman, afterwards in the House of Peers, others, the sons of shopkeepers of the most inferior description, and others, again, sons of menial servants in the town. 'There,' said he, 'they were sitting side by side, giving and taking places from each other, without the slightest impression on the part of my noble friends of any superiority on their parts to the other boys, or any ideas of inferiority on the part of the other boys to them; and this is my reason for preferring the Old High School of Edinburgh to other, and what may be termed more patrician, schools, however well regulated or conducted.' Steven, *Edinburgh High School*, pp. 212, 213.

¹ *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 241.

² *New Statistical Account* (Scot.), vol. viii, pp. 94 et seq. John McNabb, the founder, who had attended occasionally at the parish school, is said to have herded cattle even after he was a grown lad. He went to Leith and amassed a considerable fortune, which he subsequently increased by successful speculation.

As to the legality of expending money on such a school, the following opinion was given: 'We think the trustees have exercised a sound discretion in resolving to establish a great academy or seminary of education upon a scale suited to the means that have been given them by the donor.'

conditions, which involved, among others, the transference of the old Grammar School and its grounds to the trustees of Dr. Bell. Thus the Town Council and Magistrates 'divested themselves of all right to the patronage and appointment and superintendence of the masters in these schools, and reserved to themselves and their successors nothing but the right of paying £50 per annum to the classical master, and £25 to the English master'. In this way the Madras College incorporated into itself the only public school in St. Andrews.¹ In the same year Cupar Academy was founded with funds left by the same donor. In 1846 Milne's Institution, Fochabers, was founded with a capital of £20,000, and in 1863 the Ewart Institution, Newton-Stewart, comprising a Ragged and a Middle-class school, was erected by two brothers, James and John Ewart. These five schools, in 1868, were reported to have a united income of £5,243.²

Turning now to the grammar schools, we can see by an examination of their curricula the extent to which the reactionary movement had affected them. A purely classical curriculum persisted in a few schools for many years after the academy had taken root.³ In Edinburgh, in 1825, the year after the Edinburgh Academy had been opened, the Town Council decided to erect a new High School on Calton Hill, which was completed and opened in 1829. Meanwhile, however, the course of study in this school had been revised, and General Knowledge⁴—English Literature, History, and

¹ *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 65.

² Other examples are Bathgate Academy, Linlithgow, erected in 1832, the original bequest amounting to £16,368 12s. 6½d.; Morrison's Academy, Crieff, erected in 1860, original funds amounting to £20,000; Fraserburgh Academy, opened in 1870, original funds £7,000, of which £5,000 were invested as endowment; Webster's Seminary, Kirriemuir—the founder, John Webster, died in 1829, leaving about £7,000, of which £2,300 were spent in erecting the buildings; the John Neilson Institution, Paisley, opened in 1852, the capital sum left by the founder being £19,118 16s. 10d.; the Miller Institute, Thurso, &c. *Endowed Schools and Hospitals Report* (1874).

³ The Grammar School of Montrose until 1815 taught Latin and Greek only; in Glasgow the Grammar School was exclusively classical until 1816; similarly Stirling Grammar School confined its work to Latin and Greek until 1853.

⁴ Apparently General Knowledge, if not in 1827 a little later, included

Geography—included in the scheme of work. The new subject was taught by the classical masters, but in such a way as not to interfere ‘in the slightest degree with the leading department of study—Classical Literature’. The introduction of the study of French was also contemplated, but a special master does not appear to have been appointed until 1834. About the same time Arithmetic was separated from Writing and taught along with Elementary Mathematics.¹

In Glasgow, as early as 1782, the Magistrates and Council had discussed the advisability of erecting a new Grammar School with rooms for teaching French, Arithmetic, and Bookkeeping.² In course of time, Greek, Geography, Writing and Arithmetic, and Mathematics were added to the list of subjects taught in the school. But until 1816 it was practically a classical school. In 1834, however, great changes were made. The success of the Edinburgh Academy had roused the Town Council. A much more extended curriculum, including Classics, English, Modern Foreign Languages, Mathematics, Geography, Arithmetic, and Writing, was adopted, and to signalize this important step the title of Grammar School was discarded for that of High School. Shortly afterwards Drawing and Chemistry were added.

In Aberdeen the curriculum of the Grammar School—the original name of Grammar School has been retained to the present day—came to be regulated very largely by the requirements of the local University bursary competition, and, although English, Arithmetic, Mathematics, and French were included in the courses of study offered, the majority of the pupils devoted their attention to Classics. Even in 1867 it was reported that Algebra and Modern Languages were scarcely studied at all.³ In Stirling instruction in Elementary Science. Not until 1849 were special teachers appointed to give instruction in Natural History and Chemistry. Steven, *Edinburgh High School*, p. 270.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 226–7, 251.

² Cleland and Muir, *High School of Glasgow*, p. 13.

³ *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 283.

Sir James Donaldson, Principal of St. Andrews University, relates that when he was in the Aberdeen Grammar School, in 1841–5, the

Grammar School, Latin and Greek alone were taught until 1853, when a new programme, having a range as wide as those of the best organized academies, was adopted. Three years later a new school was opened, under the title of the High School of Stirling, to which the other schools in the town were transferred.¹ Elsewhere, in course of time the grammar schools were rebuilt, and provision was made for an education on more modern lines.²

In addition to its effect upon the curriculum of the grammar school, the 'modern' reaction brought in its train an increase in the number of pupils attending for higher instruction and a corresponding increase in the staff. These, as we shall see in the next section, led to much confusion in the organization of the school and the adjustment of its studies. But an important effect, and one not generally contemplated at the time, deserves consideration. While the grammar school remained, as formerly, under the exclusive patronage and control of the Town Council, many of the academies and similar schools came under a new management, and for a good and sufficient reason. On the one hand the cost of erection, maintenance, and equipment of the grammar school had fallen from early times upon the Town Council, and it was only natural that it should retain its ancient rights. On the other hand the academies, as a rule, were erected wholly or partly by private subscriptions.³ Where such a proprietary element existed, the subscribers were entitled to a proportionate share in the management and control, and in general the composition of the new directorate gave due effect to this principle.

only subjects taught in the school were Latin and Greek, History and Geography, and that English and Mathematics were taught in an outside school.

¹ Hutchison, *High School of Stirling*, p. 187.

² Dunfermline Burgh or Grammar School was rebuilt in 1816; Lanark Burgh School was erected in 1840, and consisted of two good class-rooms with accommodation for 133 scholars; Dunbar Burgh School was erected in 1824 in place of two public seminaries—a conjoined Grammar and English School, and a Mathematical School, &c. *Education Commission Report* (1868).

³ In Banff a bequest was made to the Magistrates as trustees, and with this the Academy was erected. *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 17.

Thus the exclusive control, formerly exercised by the Town Council over all schools in its burgh, ceased with the founding of academies and similar schools. The material point is that an important and far-reaching effect of the reaction was to introduce a class of secondary schools in Scotland not under the control of local public bodies. And this class has persisted, notwithstanding the institution of School Boards in 1872, down to the present day.

One or two examples will suffice to show the extent to which the management was affected. In some burghs, as in Montrose, the patronage and control, irrespective of the fact that the school had been largely provided by private generosity, remained in the hands of the Town Council.¹ In others, as in Ayr, Inverness, and Dundee, the management was vested in representatives of the subscribers and the Town Council in various combinations.² In schools of the type of Madras College, Dollar Institution, Edinburgh Academy, and Glenalmond, the management was not connected

¹ The Council granted a sum of £1,000 from the funds of the burgh, and instructed that subscriptions be solicited from residents and others. An additional £2,000 were thus subscribed. *Montrose Burgh Records*. Elgin is a similar instance.

² In Ayr the management was vested in a directorate consisting of heirs-male of individual subscribers of £50 sterling and upwards; five representatives, annually chosen, of subscribers of sums between £5 and £50; the Sheriff-depute of the county; and seven members of the Town Council annually elected by it.

In Inverness the directors consisted of the Provost, four bailies and the Dean of Guild, the Sheriff-depute, the Moderator of the Presbytery of Inverness, five persons chosen annually by the Commissioners of Supply, and all subscribers of £100 and their heirs-male, and subscribers of £50 during lifetime. In 1866 this was amended to a standing committee of six directors and a chairman nominated at the annual meeting of the directors.

In Dundee the directors consisted of ten members of the Town Council and ten subscribers.

In Hamilton an Academy was erected in 1848 with funds provided, one-half by the heritors, one-half partly by the Town Council, partly by subscriptions from the public. In 1866, by which time many of the original subscribers had died or had ceased to take an interest in it, the remaining contributors agreed to hand over their rights to the Town Council in consideration of their being relieved of £373 of debt. The managing body thereafter consisted of heritors and members of the Town Council in equal proportion. *Education Commission Report* (1868).

with the Town Council but vested in trustees elected in accordance with various conditions peculiar to each case. In Glenalmond the government was vested for the time being in a Council consisting of six Scottish Bishops then in office, three other clergymen, and ten laymen.

3. EDUCATIONAL CHAOS

The third period, which extended over the greater part of the nineteenth century, was a period of great confusion in secondary education in Scotland. Not only had the 'modern' reaction produced a new type of school, but it had considerably affected the development of the older ones. Henceforward it was impossible to confine secondary education to a study of dead languages or to linguistic training merely. Opinion as to what constituted the functions of a secondary school had been considerably modified. But with an extended range of studies came an increase in difficulties of school organization of a new order. Hitherto the internal organization of a grammar school had been quite a simple matter. When the curriculum included practically only one subject, and the teachers were limited in number, difficulties in organization were not many. Even if a few 'extras' were added they did not materially affect the main course of study. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century problems regarding the arrangement of staff, and the adjustment of a greatly increased number of school subjects confronted the school authorities, and as a result a period of educational chaos ensued.

About the same time similar problems were presented to Prussia, but under different conditions. In Prussia, secondary education was an affair of the State, directed by a minister free to call in expert assistance, and with more or less compulsory powers over the teacher and the curriculum; the teacher was a State official, but only recognized as such when he had satisfied the State that he was competent for his business; the curriculum was defined alike for all *Gymnasien*, the secondary schools proper, in the

Lehrplan. Small wonder, therefore, that under such conditions Prussia laid the foundations of a system which was the model for the other German States, and which has strongly influenced secondary school systems generally. On the other hand, in Scotland, secondary education was not recognized as an affair of the State. From the Reformation downwards one of the distinctive features of education in the burghs had been the communal control of the schools. The 'modern' reaction expressed itself locally and individually; the new school buildings were built with local subscriptions.¹ With characteristic independence the local authorities preferred to manage their own schools without State interference, and, as a result, more than half a century passed before anything of the nature of a system began to appear.

The period is one of experimentation. It is almost hopeless to follow in detail the variations in different schools and at different times. The adoption, the discarding, and the subsequent re-adoption of a certain form of government or method of organization in one and the same school are indications of the lack of any standard of aim or of any recognition of authority in education. Perhaps the experience, though dearly bought, was necessary; in any case it is interesting and instructive. We propose to examine the period from three points of view; the University and the school; school organization and government; and the school curriculum. Incidentally the relations between the local authority and the school will appear.

During this period, particularly in the first half of the century, the University moved but slowly. In 1826, after a lapse of one hundred and thirty years, Royal Commissioners were again appointed to visit the four Scottish Universities, and their Report, which appeared in 1830, contained, in addition to a mass of historical detail, various suggestions and recommendations which, from the point of view of the school, require consideration. The age of entry

¹ Subscriptions were occasionally solicited from former residents or others interested in the burgh, as at Inverness in 1787. *Statistical Account (Scot.)*, vol. ix, p. 619.

into the University was still low ; the average was about fourteen, but some students entered at the age of twelve. Of the entrants, a considerable number was imperfectly grounded in Latin and many were ignorant of Greek. In consequence, the first Greek class had been exclusively occupied in acquiring an elementary knowledge of grammar and in reading a few pages from three or four of the easiest authors.¹ In their recommendations, the Commissioners show clearly a twofold object—to raise the standard of teaching in Classics in the University, and to articulate more closely the work of the school with the University.

With the first object in view it was suggested that the teaching of elementary Greek should be left to the school, and that the work of the first Greek class should begin where it then finished ; that the course for the first year should be Latin and Greek ; and for the second, Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. The difficulty in the way of attaining the second object was the absence of an entrance examination and the general disinclination in the country to institute one. Students were admitted merely on satisfying the Professor that they had sufficient education to profit by attendance at the classes. But the remuneration of the Professor depended almost entirely upon the number of students attending his classes and the fees they paid him. Thus qualifications for admission became involved with considerations regarding emoluments. In consequence there was no real standard of attainment required for admission ; in point of fact few students were turned away. Bad as this arrangement was, direct proposals to alter it were not made. Improvement was contemplated by other means. It was suggested that students who, on being examined privately by the examiner *for degrees*, showed themselves fit for the second year's work should be exempt from taking the first year's classes. This, it may be observed, is the first indication of an effort to institute a University entrance examina-

¹ There were not ten situations in Scotland at that time (c. 1825) which required an extensive, or even moderate, knowledge of Greek literature. *The Westminster Review*, January, 1832.

tion of an independent character. In harmony with this proposal, it was recommended that the Arts course should be revised. The suggestion was made that there should be a four years' course for the B.A. (three for those who gained exemption from the first year's classes), and an additional year of specialized study in some branch of Literature, Philosophy, or Science for the M.A.¹

Had these recommendations been adopted, not only would they have considerably raised the standard of the M.A. degree, but, what is of more interest to us, they would have tended to encourage pupils to remain at least a year longer at school at the study of Classics, and possibly of Mathematics. But the influence of vested and time-honoured interests was strong enough to prevent the recommendations, moderate in the main as they were, from becoming law, and almost thirty years elapsed before Parliamentary legislation followed. Nevertheless, we can trace their effects upon the schools. The evident aim of the Commissioners to put the study of Classics upon a higher plane in the University gave an impetus to the teaching of Classics in the secondary schools at a time when it was sorely needed.² Few schools in Scotland, as we have seen, taught Greek in the eighteenth century, but by the middle of the nineteenth century all the schools of any importance, and quite a number of the smaller schools, made provision for it. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the study of Greek declined in the nineteenth century. Nor is there any satisfactory evidence that the absolute number of pupils learning Latin in this

¹ It may be of interest to note that a proposal to erect a University or College at Dumfries, which had been made by Mrs. Elizabeth Crichton and the Trustees appointed under the will of her deceased husband, had been remitted to the Commissioners to consider and report. The Commissioners were in *favour* of the proposal. *Universities Commission Report* (1831), p. 85.

² Compare the reform of the secondary school in Germany (1808-18), through which Greek was given an important place in the *Lehrplan* (1812). Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts* (*Fünftes Buch*).

Professor W. Rein, in *Education in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 260, says: 'The study of Greek spread [in Germany], and Greek became of equal value with Latin. Greek and Latin formed the centre of the instruction given in the Gymnasium.'

century materially decreased. But the grading of schools and studies and the clear definition of secondary education in a comprehensive and national scheme remained as far off as ever.

In 1858, Parliament passed a University Act of great importance to higher education in Scotland. At this time the legal Arts curriculum extended over four years,¹ in which the student attended classes in the usual seven subjects for at least one session each. On passing in Latin and Greek, at the end of the first or the second year, the undergraduate, if so disposed, might thereafter discard Classics. In the third year, if successful in Mathematics, Logic, and Moral Philosophy, he graduated B.A., while in the following year, on passing in Rhetoric and Natural Philosophy, he might graduate M.A. In respect of the schools, the interest in the Act lies in the fourteenth Ordinance, and more particularly in the changes it wrought in the work of the first two sessions of the Arts course. Those who intended to graduate M.A. had to attend four winter sessions, but the classes in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics respectively had to be attended for not less than *two* sessions. The course could be shortened to three winter sessions by omitting the junior (first year) classes in these subjects, provided that students satisfied the Professors in the Faculty of Arts, on examination, that they were qualified to attend the corresponding senior (second year) classes.²

¹ Four winter sessions, i. e. three and a half years.

² 'The course of study necessary for the Degree of Master of Arts shall extend over four Winter Sessions, and shall include attendance for not less than two Sessions on the Classes of Humanity, Greek, and Mathematics respectively; and attendance for not less than one Session on the Classes of Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy respectively; and also attendance on a course of English literature, for which each University shall make due provision: Provided always, that any student who, at the time of his entrance to the University, shall satisfy the Professors in the Faculty of Arts, on examination, that he is qualified to attend the higher Classes of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, or any of them, shall be admitted to such higher Class or Classes, as the case may be, without having previously attended the First or Junior Class or Classes in the same department or departments: Provided also, that, where a Student has been admitted to the higher Classes both of Latin and Greek, without having previously

The institution of junior and senior classes was clearly a compromise, and perhaps the best under the circumstances. It should be remembered that, as in former times, students continued to go to the University not only from the secondary school, but also direct from the parish school. While on the one hand it was felt desirable in the interests of education to co-ordinate the work of the secondary school with that of the University, and this by means of an entrance examination, on the other it was thought to be equally desirable to maintain the open door for those who, mainly through inequality of opportunity, had not had the advantage of a secondary school education. The assumption was that students from the secondary school would enter the senior classes on passing the prescribed examination ; while students from the parish school, who presumably would not be so far advanced in their studies, would enrol in the junior classes. The effect of this upon the secondary school would be to raise the standard of work in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, and at the same time give some encouragement to the more important of the secondary schools which were actually at that time teaching this higher work. A year less at the University meant a year gained at the school. Such was the spirit in which the new Ordinance was conceived.

But the junior classes received scant respect from the secondary school teachers, with whom they remained a sore point for thirty years. The objections raised were plausible enough. It was maintained that it would be to the interest of weak students, or of those who disliked the idea of an entrance examination, to enter the junior classes rather than the senior. Thus the secondary school would be deprived of its legitimate pupils, and of course their *fees*—a material point when the teachers' emoluments largely depended upon them. Or to put the issue as between the school with an advanced course and

attended the First or Junior Latin or Greek Classes, his course of study for the Degree of Master of Arts may be completed within three Winter Sessions, instead of four. *Ordinance*, No. 14, issued in 1861.

one without it : a student who had spent six or seven years at a high school would be admitted to the senior classes only after a strict examination ; but one who had spent only three or four years at a country school and then one year at a college would be admitted at once to the senior classes ' without questions asked '. The junior classes would thus become a kind of back-stairs entrance into the University.¹

But the facts proved otherwise. After the Ordinance had been in operation some years it was shown that 33 per cent. of the students entered the junior classes of the University at or about the age of twenty, and that they were mostly drawn from the poorer classes, sons of small farmers, masons, weavers, bootmakers, shepherds, and common labourers, who found their way to the University from remote parish schools or schools similar to them. Such students were not likely to attend the secondary school. And the reason was obvious, since the cost of education at the University was less than at the secondary school. Two guineas or three guineas was the price of a ticket for the Latin, Greek, and Mathematics classes. For eight or nine guineas, therefore, a student could attend the highest teaching in Scotland during the University session, which lasted from autumn to spring—twenty-four weeks in all—when these men could do comparatively little work at home. It was not much more than half the length of the burgh school course, which extended on an average over forty-four weeks each year. Consequently, for the remainder of the year a student was free to return to his ordinary occupation, at which he could earn sufficient to keep himself during the following session.² The institution of a uniform entrance examina-

¹ *The Museum*, September 1864.

² The following is a case in point : A student, the son of a shepherd who had only £20 a year of wages besides his house, cow's grass, and croft, had at the age of twenty-two gone from the parochial school in his native parish in the West Highlands to the High School of Inverness, and from there to the University of Edinburgh. He spent the winter session at college, lodging along with another student at 3s. 6d. per week. His whole winter expenses amounted to £22 ; and he earned the greater part of this by teaching a school in summer in a remote part of the Highlands. *Education Commission Report*, vol. i, p. 156.

tion for such as these, would have excluded about 30 per cent. of the whole number of those who went to the University, and among whom were some of the very best men. On the other hand, scarcely one-half of the students in the University came from burgh or middle-class schools, and the majority of these passed at once into the senior classes.¹

But the agitation in favour of a uniform entrance examination and the abolition of the junior classes had a deeper significance. The fact that the University, by continuing the junior classes, was teaching the same work as the upper forms of the better organized secondary schools simply meant that a definite conception of the scope and function of secondary education had not as yet evolved in Scotland. This was the root of the whole trouble. And so long as this continued so long would it be impossible to establish an organic connexion between the secondary school and the University—the real preliminary to a common test for students desiring to pass from the one to the other.

We now turn to the organization and government of the school, a few illustrations of which will show the extent of the variations during this period. The two extreme types were represented by the Dundee High School and the Edinburgh Academy. The former, about the middle of the century, may be described as a little republic without a chief magistrate; it was a congeries of eight separate departments—Classical, Mathematical, Commercial, Writing and Arithmetic, English, French, German, Science and Art—

¹ The following statistics regarding students attending the Scottish Universities were compiled by the Assistant Commissioners (1868). Twenty-nine per cent. of the whole number of students were under seventeen years of age. There were no students under 14 years of age; about 2 per cent. were under 15; 8 per cent. were 15; 19 per cent. 16, and 18 per cent. 17. Of a total of 882 students no less than 29 were sons of common labourers; and more than 16 per cent. were drawn from the class which live by skilled labour and artisan work. Farmers', ministers', and merchants' sons were more numerous than any other class. One hundred and twenty-five of the students were the sons of farmers; 111 were the sons of ministers; and 94 the sons of merchants—these three classes representing 37·4 per cent. of the whole number. *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 156.

each with an independent head master.¹ The office of Rector had been abolished in 1827, but, as some sort of supervision was felt to be necessary, the masters constituted a censor's court according to the following regulation :

A court composed of all the male teachers, holding office in the school, under appointment by the Directors, shall be held on the first Saturday of each month, and at such other times as may be fixed by themselves during the session, for the purpose of taking cognizance of offences committed within the precincts of the school, but not within the respective class-rooms ; and also of such graver offences as may be brought before the Court by any one of the teachers or other parties.

The teachers shall hold the office of censor for six months in the order of seniority. He shall preside at all meetings, and shall have power to convene them when he may judge it necessary.

The functions of the Court shall be especially to carry into effect the regulations, and to inflict punishment for any breach of them, whether by admonition, suspension of privileges, fine, rustication for a limited period, or expulsion from the school ; but sentence of expulsion shall be intimated to the Directors before being carried into effect. It shall also be competent for the Court to take up any matter affecting the interests of the High School generally, and to make such representations to the Directors thereon as may be deemed necessary and proper.²

The High School of Glasgow is another example of the same class. Previous to 1837, when seven separate departments were established, the school, in respect of its organization, had passed through several experimental stages. The office of Rector had been abolished in 1782, reinstituted in 1815, and again abolished in 1827, at which stage the four masters equal in rank 'rotated' with their classes.³ Notwithstanding these changes, the Institution in 1864 was in a flourishing condition, although the critics said it was scarcely true 'that the School had been successful, but rather that six schools had existed under the same roof

¹ A ninth if the 'Phonographic' be counted.

² *Education Commission Report* (1868), pp. 51-2.

³ Cleland and Muir, *High School of Glasgow*, p. 57.

and had flourished'.¹ As in Dundee, a council of masters presided over by the teachers in turn managed the internal affairs. In Perth Academy there were six separate and independent departments, some of which taught a wide range of subjects.² The curious thing is that two of the heads of departments bore the title of Rector—Rector of the Academy and Rector of the Grammar School respectively—a relic of the time when the Academy and the Grammar School were separate institutions; but in each case the jurisdiction was confined to one department and the title was merely complimentary. In 1850 the office of Rector was abolished in the Glasgow Academy; nor did it exist in St. Andrews Madras College at that time.

A clue to the reasons which prompted the school authorities to adopt this form of school organization is found in the opinion which prevailed among a large number of people that the larger the staff of independent competing head masters, the better it was for the school and the public. In one instance—the Ayr Academy—so convinced were many of the townspeople of the efficiency of this system that, rather than agree to the consolidation of the work under a Rector, they resolved to establish a new subscription school in which the principle of independent departments should have free play.³ No doubt a further reason for adopting this plan was the precedent set by the University. When once the system was adopted, the interests of individual teachers were often opposed to any change. Thus, in the High School of Glasgow, when the question of appointing a Rector was raised in 1867, the objections of the masters were so strong that the proposal had to be abandoned.⁴

At the other extreme we have schools of the type of the Edinburgh Academy, in which the Head Master or Rector

¹ Cleland and Muir, *High School of Glasgow*, p. 63.

² The Mathematical Department in 1867 provided instruction in ten subjects: Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration and Surveying, Book-keeping, Astronomy, Geology, Physiology, Physics (including practical and experimental Mechanics), and Chemistry.

³ *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 263.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

was supreme in all matters of internal organization and directly responsible to the Directors for the working of the whole school. In many cases he had the power of appointing and dismissing the teachers, and in a few cases he paid the assistants himself.¹ Where he had not the power of appointment his recommendation was practically always accepted.

Intermediary between these two extremes was the system of separate departments with responsible masters over each, one of whom was appointed Rector. Though nominally supreme over the internal affairs of the school, in reality he had little power, and served only as a medium of communication between the other teachers and the managing body. He had little to do with the appointment of assistant teachers, did not regulate the work of the school, and held only limited disciplinary powers. Schools of this type were numerous.²

After the middle of the century the prevailing tendency was in favour of the appointment of a Rector with a fair amount of power. Indications of this are seen in the Academies of Inverness,³ Airdrie, Hamilton, and Glasgow,⁴ where the system of co-ordinate masters was abandoned, and in the High School of Glasgow and the Dumbarton Academy where, about 1866, proposals to abandon it were under consideration.

So numerous were the variations in the curriculum that a classification is almost impossible. The one feature common to almost all was the absence of a compulsory course of studies. In general a separate fee was charged for each subject, and the selection left to the parent. It was not uncommon to find a pupil attending the public school for some subjects and a private school in the same town for

¹ Forres, Hamilton, Haddington, Forfar, and Banff.

² Montrose, Brechin, Arbroath, Kilmarnock, Greenock, Dumfries, &c.

³ Inverness had at first a Rector and four masters; in 1840 the office of Rector was abolished and the masters given co-ordinate powers; in 1863 a Rector was again appointed.

⁴ Glasgow Academy had at first a Rector; in 1850 the chief masters were 'Rectors' in turn, with the title Pro-Rector, for one year each; in 1861-2 the office of Rector was revived. *Glasgow Academy Chronicle* (1905).

others. The system was on all fours with the practice prevailing in the University, which indeed may have suggested it. In schools where a curriculum was not recommended the onus of selecting a course of study fell usually upon the parent. Provided the University was the objective, this was not a matter of much difficulty, for most school time-tables were so arranged that due provision was made for the 'University subjects'—Latin, Greek, and Mathematics; in many cases these alone were thought worthy of attention.¹ When the aim was different, the choice was not always based upon educational grounds. Ideas as to what constituted a 'modern side' were crude.² The problem of the curriculum, too, was complicated by the method of remunerating the teacher. If the school was under the exclusive or the joint patronage of the Town Council, the teachers usually received a small salary;³ in other cases a salary may or may not have been given; but the greater part of their emoluments came from the fees which, in general, they collected themselves. Obviously, therefore, it was to the teacher's interest not only to attract pupils to his class, but to retain them as long as possible. In schools where the subjects were taught

¹ A very meagre course as compared with the *Lehrplan* for *Gymnasien* in Prussia, which in 1856 was as follows: Religion (2); German (2); Latin (10); Greek (6); French (2), except the lowest form; History and Geography (3); Mathematics and Arithmetic (4), for the four upper forms; Science—Physics and Natural History (1½); Drawing and Writing in the lower forms only. The numbers represent hours per week and are approximate; slight variations occur in the different years of the course. For the *Lehrpläne* of 1812 and 1837 see Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, vol. ii, pp. 289, 351.

² For the Non-Classical course in Aberdeen Grammar School in 1867 see *Education Commission Report* (1868), pp. 285–6.

As distinct from the practice in Scotland the course for *Realschulen* in Prussia in 1859 was the following: Religion (2); German (3); Latin (3–8, average 5); French (4); English (3), for the three upper classes; Geography and History (3); Mathematics and Arithmetic (5); Science (2), for the four lower forms, and (6) for the two upper; Drawing (2); Writing (2), for the lower forms only. The numbers in brackets represent hours per week, and are approximate. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, vol. ii, p. 554.

³ Only four or five did not pay salaries in 1868. *Education Commission Report* (1868), vol. i, p. 62.

by separate and independent masters, competition among the teachers was inevitable, and considerations other than educational had weight in the selection of a course of study. Here, the interests of individual teachers were opposed;¹ there, the work of various departments overlapped;² but the greatest evil was the tendency to select subjects directly utilitarian and to reject those of a disciplinary or formative character.³ While the emoluments of the teachers of English or Writing tended to increase, those of the teacher of Classics, usually the Rector, remained stationary or decreased. Thus the Rector, the nominal head of the school, often had a salary inferior to that of the Writing or the English master.

In schools where a curriculum was recommended it was not necessarily followed. Such was the state of affairs in Dundee, where it so happened that Arithmetic was common to two departments. As the fee in the one case was less than that in the other, the parent of an economical turn declined to follow the recommendations of the Directors.⁴ In a few schools, such as the Academies of Edinburgh, Greenock, Ayr, and Inverness, a curriculum was recommended and generally followed. In the Aberdeen Grammar School, Latin was compulsory for three years and afterwards optional; all other subjects were optional. In the smaller schools the departments were not specialized to the same extent as in the larger, and consequently there was not the

¹ For example, a classical teacher introduced the custom of giving a weekly English essay to his pupils, whereupon the English teacher promptly prepared a remonstrance to the managing body. *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 83.

² A common form of overlapping was the Commercial Department with the Mathematics Department, in both of which Arithmetic was usually taught.

³ A very considerable number of boys and girls of sixteen years and above was spending five or six hours per week on writing. *Education Commission Report* (1868), pp. 124-5.

⁴ 'Parents naturally prefer 1s. worth of arithmetic from the writing-master to 10s. 6d. worth from the arithmetic master. Nor can the writing-master, so long as he is allowed to teach arithmetic, refuse to admit those who wish to learn it from him. For the scheme of instruction is not obligatory. It merely recommends a certain course.' *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 60.

same competition between the subjects.¹ For example, in Aberdeen Old Grammar School, with an enrolment of thirty-two, there was only one master to teach Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and English, and it appears he did so with great success.

The first advance towards a compulsory curriculum is seen in those schools in which, about the middle of the century, the plan of charging a separate fee for each subject was discarded in favour of instituting a group fee. One of the earliest to adopt this method was the Edinburgh High School. As the gradual evolution of the curriculum of this school is perhaps the most instructive example of the progress of ideas on secondary education in Scotland in the nineteenth century, we shall consider it in some detail.

By the year 1814 so much advance had been made in the study of Greek in this school, that the Town Council agreed to present a gold medal annually for the best Greek scholar in the school.² In 1827, as we have seen, General Knowledge was added to the curriculum. This was followed by French, Gymnastics, and Fencing (1843), and German (1845).³ The school showed itself ever ready to incorporate in its curriculum such new branches of knowledge as were pointed out by the spirit of the age as necessary and useful. By the year 1845 there was a systematic course in Classics and English,⁴ more or less [compulsory, taught by four classical masters, each of whom carried his class through four years of the work and then passed it on to the Rector ;

¹ In Irvine Academy, Latin, Greek, French, Italian, German, and Geography were taught in the *Classical* Department ; in Arbroath High School, Latin, Greek, French, German, and Mathematics were taught in the Rector's department. *Education Commission Report* (1868).

² About this time, 1815, Greek was introduced into the course of study in the Glasgow High School. Cleland and Muir, *High School of Glasgow*, pp. 17-18.

³ In 1846 the total enrolment was 462 ; while the enrolments in optional subjects were : Geometry and Algebra 25, Arithmetic 245, French 41, German 8, Writing 239, Book-keeping 12, Fencing and Gymnastics 22. *Edinburgh High School Reports*.

⁴ 'English' is used in a special sense : in the fourth class (next to the highest) it meant Goldsmith's Greek History, Reading, Writing and occasional Analysis, general Geography ; in the highest class, English Composition and general Geography.

and optional classes in Arithmetic, Mathematics, French, German, Writing, Bookkeeping, Fencing, and Gymnastics. To these were added lecture courses in Chemistry and Natural History (1849), and Drawing (1853). About this time, to obviate the probability of the School, with its extended curriculum, becoming a congeries of as many schools as there were masters, the power of the Rector over the internal arrangements was confirmed. A little later the relation of English to Classics came under discussion. Several of the Managers wished to raise the former from the subordinate position which it then occupied. However, in 1864, the matter was settled by a compromise: English was put upon an equal footing with Classics, but was still to be taught by the Classical masters.

Two years later changes of considerable importance were made in the organization of the work in this school:¹ (1) English (including modern History and Geography) and Classics were to be taught by separate masters; (2) a system of prescribed courses for the various classes was established in which Latin and English were compulsory in the first four years, and the former in the fifth and sixth years. While all other subjects in a prescribed course were optional, pecuniary

¹ This reorganization took place under the Rectorship of Dr. Donaldson (Sir James Donaldson, presently Principal of the University of St. Andrews).

It is interesting to note that the French Commissioner, referring to the new organization, in 1866, said: 'The High School of Edinburgh can henceforth proudly take its place by the side of our best Lycées in France. It only needs one additional branch, viz. that of Philosophy, reserved in Scotland for the Universities.' *Edinburgh High School Reports*.

The course of study in a French Lycée was fixed by the State, as in Germany. About that time a Lycée had three departments: elementary, grammar, and superior. Pupils were admitted to the grammar course about the age of ten, and continued in it for three years. The subjects and approximate hours per week were: Classics (15), Modern Languages (2), History and Geography (2), Arithmetic (1), Drawing (2), Singing (2), and Gymnastics (2). The course in the *division supérieure* lasted four years, and pupils passed into it upon examination. It was as follows: Classics (14), Mathematics (4), History (2), Geography (1), Modern Languages (2), Music (1), Drawing (2), Gymnastics (2); in the second highest class—*classe de rhétorique*—French literature was studied; in the highest class—*philosophie*—the work of the three previous years was revised, and Physics, Philosophy, and History were added. The course was completed by the examination for the degree of *Baccalauréat ès Lettres*.

advantages accrued to those who took the full course,¹ and satisfactory reasons had to be assigned for not taking it ; (3) Science was made an integral part of the curriculum.² At the same time a curriculum fee was charged for the prescribed course and separate fees for individual subjects if not taken as part of the course. But since the slump fee was much less than the sum of the fees for the separate subjects, the prescribed curriculum tended to become compulsory. This readjusting of the fees necessitated a change in the method of remunerating the teacher. The Managers, therefore, established a common fee fund from which the teachers were paid proportional shares.

Soon after the passing of the Education Act of 1872, when the management of the High School devolved on the Edinburgh School Board, an effort was made to organize a 'modern side' with a definite curriculum. Hitherto nearly all the clever boys had taken the classical side, and the idle and the stupid, or those whose education had been neglected or mismanaged, the modern. The dual course then introduced was said to be the 'first attempt to carry out in Scotland systems completely corresponding to those which were found in the German Gymnasium and the German Realschule'.³

Notwithstanding the lead set by the High School of Edinburgh and one or two other progressive schools, the problem of the curriculum of the secondary school was very little nearer solution when the new Act came into operation. Only within recent years has the function of the secondary school in a national system of education attained to anything like definiteness, and even yet confusion of ideas exists regarding what constitutes a general and a special education and to what extent the secondary school should provide for both.

¹ A similar system was in operation in Inverness Academy in 1867 ; in Hamilton Academy there was a prescribed curriculum for which was charged a group fee which pupils had to pay whether they took all subjects or any. In the former, the teachers were paid salaries ; in the latter, the Rector received the fees and paid his assistants. *Education Commission Report* (1868).

² *Edinburgh High School Reports*. ³ *Ibid*.

THE ARGYLL COMMISSION¹

In 1864, Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the school system of Scotland, and, four years later, reported very fully on the burgh and middle-class schools. At the date of the inquiry there were thirty-three burgh schools proper, that is, schools under the control of the burgh authorities as such; twenty-three academies or similar institutions, founded by subscription and managed by mixed directorates; and thirty-one burgh and parochial schools, or simply parochial schools which filled the place of a burgh school. And these schools were so distributed that every burgh in Scotland, with the exception of Kinghorn, Oban, and Portobello, had one or more of them. In addition to these there existed a number of private schools; some, exclusively boarding schools, as Merchiston and Loretto;² others, exclusively day schools, as the Edinburgh Institution; and others again, mixed day and boarding schools, as the Aberdeen Gymnasium. It was estimated that the schools reported on provided instruction for more than two-thirds of the middle-class population in Scotland. Approximately one in every 205 of the population attended the public secondary schools; a proportion higher than in Prussia and considerably higher than in France or England.³ Ample accommodation existed in the schools for those who attended; but only 60 per cent. of the school buildings were reported as fair or above fair, while 9 per cent. were bad. There was, however, a great deficiency in places of recreation, and in consequence a general neglect of physical education. A marked feature was the poverty of the schools and the general lack of endowments; the revenues of Eton and Winchester together were greater than those of all the burgh schools and Universities in Scotland. On the other

¹ The facts in this section have been taken from the *Education Commission (Scot.) Report* (1868), vols. i and ii.

² Loretto was founded in 1829; in 1862 Almond became its proprietor. Merchiston was founded in 1833.

³ Prussia, 1 in 249; France, 1 in 570; England, 1 in 1,300.

hand, while all the endowments¹ of the schools under the partial or exclusive management of Town Councils did not exceed £3,000 per annum, the school fees paid by the pupils reached the relatively large sum of £42,000 per annum—figures which show clearly upon whom fell the cost of secondary education at that time. On the whole, however, the burgh and secondary schools were reported to be in a satisfactory condition, and superior to the majority of the English grammar schools.

With regard to the pupils and their studies, it was reported that mixed schools of boys and girls were the rule; the presence of the girls was thought both to civilize and stimulate the boys, and the opportunity of working with the boys was said to strengthen the judgment and to brace the mental faculties of the girls. Rather more than one-half of the pupils were under the age of twelve; while about 6 per cent. were over sixteen. They appear, too, to have been pretty hard worked, for it was estimated they attended school for twice as many hours a year as the pupils in the three principal schools in England—Eton, Harrow, and Winchester. Nine hours a day for five days in the week were the average school hours. Many burgh schools combined in themselves infant, elementary, and secondary departments. Sometimes in the same class-room, and taught by the same master, were boys and girls of fifteen and sixteen years of age, reading Homer and Virgil and Racine, and alongside of them infants under six years of age learning their letters and the multiplication table, and young men of eighteen and twenty, who, according to age, ought to have been at the University. The average course of study

¹ In addition to these endowments, which might be called permanent, the Town Council gave annual voluntary contributions, towards teachers' salaries and general school purposes, amounting in the aggregate to about £5,600.

Certain other sums were in many places mortified for school or college bursaries. Most of the school bursaries were given without competition, with the result that the bursars were often among the most incompetent boys in the school. In Montrose, in 1868; it was reported that eight boys received each £18 and a free education in Latin, the latter being 'regarded rather as a penalty than a privilege attached to the endowment'.

extended over six or seven years, and was commenced about the age of nine. Much variation in the selection of subjects of study obtained in different parts of the country. 'The great object was to get a lad placed in some situation in which he would gain pecuniary benefit, and keep himself at as early an age as possible. If he could do this by means of classics, as at Aberdeen, they would teach him classics; if by writing, they would teach him writing. If along with his writing he could pick up a little Latin and a little French, so much the better, but it was not essential. That was the view of education which was adopted by parents of the middle class in Scotland; and those subjects of instruction which conduced to that end were most appreciated by them'—a somewhat caustic comment of the Assistant Commissioners and perhaps only partly true.

The lack of systematic study and the need for a recognized standard course induced the Assistant Commissioners to outline a scheme of school organization. It provided for elementary schools up to the age of nine, grammar or intermediate schools from nine to thirteen, and higher schools from thirteen to seventeen. The latter were to have two parallel courses—literary and scientific—the one leading to the University, the other to commercial or industrial occupations. Wherever districts were unprovided with easily-accessible burgh grammar schools, the erection of national secondary schools was recommended in order to bring higher education within easy reach of the parish school. A scheme of bursaries to enable poor but promising pupils in the parish school to attend the higher school was also suggested. It appears there was much necessity for some such organization, for, from Dunnet Head to Tain, no schools, other than parochial, were providing higher education. Neither were there any schools from Cape Wrath or the Butt of Lewis to the Mull of Cantyre to which promising pupils might be sent for higher education. Even in the centre and south of Scotland many parishes were destitute of the means of secondary education.

With respect to the internal organization of the burgh

schools the Commissioners thought this to be a matter which should be left to the discretion of the local managers. 'Whether or not there should be a Rector with subordinate masters, or masters with co-ordinate powers—whether there should be a fixed curriculum, or parents should be left to select such subjects of instruction as they may think advisable—whether the promotion from class to class should be regulated by routine or by proficiency—whether each master should have his own class, and appropriate to himself the fees of his scholars, or the fees should be paid into a common fund—are questions of great practical importance, on which there appears to be much difference of opinion.'

The influence of the Scottish Universities upon the secondary schools was shown to be considerable.¹ Seventy-one per cent. of the teachers in the middle-class schools were found to have had University training. The fact that only 36 per cent. were graduates simply meant that the special qualification conferred by a degree was not in great demand, and, indeed, not so much as the Commissioners thought to be desirable. As regards the connexion between the University and the school—both burgh and parochial—the Commissioners were particularly clear and definite: 'It cannot be too often repeated, that the theory of our School system, as originally conceived, was to supply every member of the community with the means of obtaining for his children not only the elements of education, but such instruction as would fit him to pass to the Burgh school, and thence to the University, or directly to the University from the Parish school. The connexion between the Parochial and Burgh schools and the University is therefore an essential element in our scheme of National education. The only way in which this essential element can be preserved, is by insisting that the teachers in every Burgh or Secondary school, and many of the Parochial schools, should be capable of instructing their pupils, not only in the subjects common

¹ The ratios of matriculated students to population at that time were in Scotland, 1 to 1,000; in Germany, 1 to 2,600; in England, 1 to 5,800. *Education Commission Report*, p. ix.

to all Primary schools, but in the elements of Latin, Mathematics, and Greek. To be satisfied with any standard of competency inferior to this would be to lower the character of education which has hitherto prevailed in this country ; to deprive meritorious poverty of the means of gratifying a legitimate ambition ; and to destroy the link which has hitherto united our schools with our Universities, and which according to universal consent, has proved of the utmost value to the people of this country.'¹

Finally, it was recommended that special grants should be made from the Treasury to those parish schools in which the parochial schoolmaster was discharging the duties of a burgh schoolmaster by teaching the higher branches of education ; and also a grant from the same source for providing retiring pensions to teachers in burgh schools, who from age or ill-health had been rendered unable to discharge their duties.²

¹ *Education Commission Report*, p. x.

² *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

CHAPTER XI

THE EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1872

ONE of the immediate results of the Report of the Argyll Commission was the Education Bill of 1869, which, however, failed to pass. An equally unsuccessful attempt was made in 1871; but, in the following year, Lord Advocate Young carried through 'An Act to amend and extend the provisions of the Law of Scotland on the subject of Education'. Unlike the English Act of 1870, it was not confined to elementary education: the preamble stated that the object was to make provision for the efficient education of the children of the *whole* people of Scotland. In consequence, although our main purpose is connected with the development of secondary education, it will be necessary, before proceeding to consider the effect of the Act upon higher education, to examine, though briefly, the salient features of the administrative machinery introduced by the new legislation.

The administration comprised a central authority and representative local authorities. The central authority, the Scotch Education Department,¹ was defined as the 'Lords of any Committee of the Privy Council appointed by Her Majesty on Education in Scotland', and the head of this Committee was the President of the Council. To this body, in addition to certain compulsory powers over the local authority, were entrusted the administration and the distribution of Parliamentary grants for education, in accordance with a Code of Minutes which had to be submitted annually for the approval of both Houses of Parliament.²

¹ Where there is no ambiguity we shall use the term 'the Department'. To facilitate arrangements during the period of transition, a Board of Education, sitting in Edinburgh, was appointed and continued to meet for about six years.

² In practice these Minutes have 'the force of an annually enacted Act of Parliament', without the usual procedure and discussion in Parliament.

In general, the limits of the powers of the Department were not clearly defined ; but, by subsequent Acts of Parliament, and particularly by successive Minutes, all of which had the force of Acts of Parliament, its powers have been considerably extended. The Education Office, with a Permanent Secretary¹ directly responsible to the Department at its head, was the executive. In two respects only did the Act bring the Department into direct relations with the public school—by giving it the power to fix the standard of qualifications and to determine the competency of the teacher, and by giving its officials—Her Majesty's Inspectors—the right of entry at any time into the public school.

Next, the country was divided into school districts, corresponding generally to parish or burgh areas, and each district had its own local authority—a popularly-elected School Board.² To these new bodies were transferred the management and the control of all schools established by Statute³ and all burgh schools, whether called academies, high schools, or grammar schools. Thus the School Boards superseded the heritors and ministers on the one hand, and the magistrates and Town Councils on the other, and all jurisdiction, power, and authority possessed or exercised by Presbyteries or other church courts with respect to public schools were abolished. Provision was also made for the transference, under certain conditions, of any other existing schools to the School Boards, and all schools under their management were termed *public* schools.

The School Boards were made responsible for the due supply of school accommodation in their districts, for the efficiency of the instruction provided, and, to a limited extent,⁴ for the attendance of all children of school age. They appointed the teachers and paid them—no statutory salary was fixed. They determined, under a conscience clause, the religious instruction, if any, to be given, and had the power

¹ Sir Francis Richard Sandford was appointed Secretary in 1873.

² In all, 984 School Boards were elected. Craik, *State and Education*, p. 160.

³ Under the Acts of 1616, 1633, 1696, 1803, 1838, or 1861.

⁴ This was extended in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1878, and subsequent Acts.

both to borrow money for building purposes to be repaid in instalments, and to establish school funds—deficiencies in which could be met by local rates, levied on their requisition by the Parochial Boards for the districts. So far as the management of the schools went they had a free hand, except in so far as, by accepting Parliamentary grants, they came under the obligation of complying with the regulations of the Code. As all the School Boards accepted these grants, their management, in practice, was largely controlled by the Department. Thus the chief link connecting the Department with the School Board, and hence indirectly with the public school, which in consequence became a state-aided school, was the Parliamentary grant.

The administration so far considered has more particular reference to the state-aided school; but the Act had reference to another class of schools, the administration of which was somewhat different. In the first place, they did not share in the Parliamentary grant, and hence their connexion with the Department was only slight; in the second, they were termed higher class public schools, and were defined as schools in which the education given did not consist chiefly of elementary instruction in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, but of instruction in Latin, Greek, Modern Languages, Natural Science, and generally in the higher branches of knowledge. While, as public schools, they came under the management and control of the School Board, in several respects their administration was different from that of the state-aided school. The determination of the standard of qualifications of the teachers was left to the School Board; the school was to be examined annually, with reference to the higher branches taught, by examiners appointed by the same local authority; and, further, the funds and revenues might consist of contributions from the Common Good, of endowments, and of pupils' fees—the latter being fixed by the teachers with the approval of the School Board,¹ paid into a common fee fund, and divided among the teachers

¹ In the event of any dispute the arbitrament was with the Department.
Section 62 (5) of the Act.

as the Board might determine. The only expenses which might be paid out of the school fund, or, in other words, the only expenses which might fall upon the local rates, were the sums required for the remuneration of the examiners and for the interest on and repayment of loans raised in providing or in enlarging a school. While only eleven such schools were scheduled in the Act,¹ it was provided that any school managed by a School Board might, at any time, take rank as a higher class public school, if so resolved by the Board, and approved by the Department.²

Thus the Act, by drawing a line between state-aided and higher class public schools, attempted to define a secondary school, but it made no attempt to define secondary instruction, nor to confine it to any particular class of school. In fact, as we have shown above, the traditions of Scottish education were wholly opposed to such a plan. Many parish and burgh schools, not scheduled by the Act as higher class public schools, had been in the habit of sending pupils directly to the University, and, far from discouraging this practice, the Act expressly enjoined the Department that, in the construction of its Minutes, due care should be taken that the standard of education which then existed in the public schools should not be lowered, and that, as far as possible, as high a standard should be maintained in all schools inspected by it. As the sequel shows, this meant the providing of secondary instruction in state-aided schools wherever the Department saw fit. In this way the Act recognized the possibility of secondary instruction being given in the two classes of schools controlled by School Boards—higher class public schools and state-aided schools.

Outside of this system of *public* schools stood a group of schools giving secondary instruction of which the Act

¹ Aberdeen New Grammar School, Ayr Academy, Dumfries Academy, Edinburgh High School, Elgin Academy, Glasgow High School, Haddington Burgh School, Montrose Academy, Paisley Grammar School and Academy, Perth Academy, Stirling High School. *Schedule C of the Act.*

² This clause was taken advantage of by Forfar Academy, Brechin High School, Kirkcaldy High School, Peebles High School, and several others.

took no cognizance. Such schools as the Academies of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Inverness, Tain, Greenock, Hamilton, and the High School of Dundee, and other subscription schools, remained under their former Directorates; while endowed schools such as St. Andrews Madras College, Dollar Institution, and Fettes College, together with a number of private schools, of which the most important were Merchiston and Loretto, in like manner remained outside of State recognition. Owing to various circumstances, some of the subscription schools, as Greenock Academy, Irvine Royal Academy, and Hamilton Academy, in course of time, came under the management of School Boards; but the endowed schools, which, in course of time, as we shall show, were considerably increased in number, continued to remain under Managers distinct from School Boards. The secondary schools in the country were thus divided into two broad classes—the one, higher class *public* schools controlled by School Boards; the other, higher class schools managed by authorities other than School Boards; and between them there was no official or State connecting-link.

The Act, therefore, defined three parallel lines, upon which secondary instruction might develop—the higher class public school, the state-aided school, and the higher class school—and these proved to be three competing systems, but on very unequal terms. The two latter, one by means of Parliamentary grants and local rates, the other, by the munificence of wealthy donors or by the diversion of ‘hospital’ endowments, were placed in a stable position financially. On the other hand, the higher class public school, with practically no endowments other than from the Common Good, and these were both meagre and unequally distributed, had to rely mainly upon the school fees which, partly through tradition and partly through competition, were low and quite unable to meet any demands beyond the salaries of the teachers. The position of the higher class public school was not an enviable one, and for twenty years it maintained a precarious existence with very little possibility of development until 1892, when the State came to its assistance.

In addition to laying down the lines upon which secondary education was to advance, the Act indirectly led to the better internal organization of the higher class public school. We have seen that one of the chief defects of the secondary school in the nineteenth century was the lack of organization, which, in a large measure, was attributable to the method of remunerating the teacher; and that, so long as the income of a teacher depended upon the number of pupils attending his classes and the fees they paid him, so long would it be difficult to attain anything like unity of aim in the school. By establishing a common fee fund the Act removed the greatest obstacle to an improved organization. The incentive to individual competition for pupils, and the tendency to the inordinate increase in the size of the class without respect to considerations of a purely educational character, were at once materially reduced. This is well described by the Rector¹ of the High School of Edinburgh, just after the passing of the Act, in the following words: 'Shortly after the School Board was elected, a committee was appointed to deal with High School matters, and considerable changes were introduced. The entire fees, and the amount from endowment to be assigned for salaries, were thrown into a common fund. Definite sums were proposed as fixed salaries for all the ordinary masters. If the funds permitted, these sums were to be paid in full. If they fell short, all the masters were to lose in proportion to the salaries proposed; and if they were more than enough, the balance was to be divided amongst the masters in the same proportion, or spent upon additional masters. This scheme at once puts an end to rivalry among individual masters for special pupils, and stimulates all to increase the entire number attending the school. It obviates all objections that might be proposed to limiting the numbers in the respective classes, or advancing their pupils according to progress. In fact, in combination with the annual examination instituted by the Education Act, it leads masters to desire that their pupils be well assorted,

¹ Dr. Donaldson (Principal Sir James Donaldson).

and that the class be manageable as to numbers. And the whole body of teachers act in harmony with each other, feel bound to assist each other, and have strong reasons for wishing that every pupil in the school be taught as well as possible by every master.’¹ Schools such as the Glasgow High School, Hamilton Academy, and others not only adopted a common fee fund, but approved of the principle of appointing a head master or Rector in place of the former system of masters with co-ordinate powers. In consequence, an impulse was given to the better arrangement of school studies and to the provision of a curriculum having due regard to educational principles.

But if secondary instruction was to be organically connected with the elementary school on the one hand, and the University on the other, its limits must be at least broadly defined. The Act, however, took little account of considerations such as these; even the line of demarcation between elementary and secondary instruction was not defined. As for the University, nowhere in the Act do we find any reference to it.² Thus the secondary school curriculum was left to define itself, and to develop without let or hindrance, with or without reference to the University.

Defective as the Act was in this respect, much more serious was the lack of provision of a common point of contact of the three systems which were to provide the secondary instruction in the country. As the Act left the University out of consideration, it was logical enough to refrain from defining the limits of secondary instruction until such time as the State legislated for education as a whole; but the failure to make provision for a common standard of attainment in the three different agencies providing secondary instruction would have been fatal to progress had it not been subsequently rectified. No doubt the state-aided school would be examined by Her Majesty’s

¹ *Endowed Schools and Hospitals Commission* (Third Report), 1875, p. 108.

² Except as regards the qualifications of the teacher. *Section 62 (2) of the Act.*

Inspectors, and the higher class public school by examiners appointed and remunerated by the School Board, but no guarantee was taken that a uniform or common standard would be observed. As for endowed schools or schools under authorities other than School Boards, the Act made no provision at all for their examination. Before long, efforts were made to remedy these defects by instituting a common examination—the leaving certificate examination. As events will show, this was an important step in the direction of a uniform organization of secondary instruction, and ultimately in the evolution of a general curriculum somewhat on the lines of the *Lehrplan*. The history of secondary education in Scotland for the next twenty years is a record of the gradual approximation of the work in the state-aided school to that in the higher class school and the higher class public school, and the convergence of the three in a common State examination.

But prior to tracing this development it will be necessary to inquire into the nature and extent of those endowments which had reference to secondary education, and of those which in course of time came to be applied to secondary education.

CHAPTER XII

ENDOWMENTS

ONE of the ultimate effects of the Education Act (1872) was to bring about modifications in the destination of many charitable and educational endowments such as to make them available for secondary education. And so far they come under our notice. As these endowments are considerable, anything approaching a full account of them would be beyond the scope of this inquiry.¹ For convenience, we shall consider them under the heads of general educational endowments, secondary school endowments, and endowments which have been made available for secondary education.

Shortly after the passing of the Act of 1872, the total amount of general endowments, or endowments not devoted to any particular institution, but rather to districts, was estimated at about £17,118. Two bequests—the Dick and the Milne—are particularly deserving of notice. The former, amounting to a capital sum of more than £100,000, was left in a will dated 1827 by James Dick, a native of Morayshire, who acquired a fortune in Jamaica and London, for the benefit of country parochial schoolmasters in the three counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray. The purpose was to augment the ‘very trifling salaries’ of these teachers without relieving the heritors or other persons from their legal obligations to support them. Accordingly, the funds were to be administered so as ‘to encourage active schoolmasters, and gradually to elevate the literary character of

¹ A full account may be obtained from the fourteen or fifteen volumes of the Reports of the following Scottish Commissions: Education Commission (1864), Endowed Schools and Hospitals Commission (1872), Endowed Institutions Commission (1878), Education Endowments Commission (1882). The main facts in this section are drawn from these Reports.

the parochial schoolmasters and schools' in these three northern counties. In order to carry out these injunctions, the Trustees imposed a stringent examination on all who claimed participation in the funds, and so high was the standard of pass that it was not unusual for graduates of the University of Aberdeen to fail in their first attempt.¹ In apportioning the funds a certain number of marks, bearing a money value, were given in respect of the higher subjects taught in the school, and a certain proportion for merit in teaching. One of the direct results was that, with few exceptions, all the parochial schoolmasters in the three north-eastern counties of Scotland were graduates in Arts, a condition of affairs which existed in no other part of the country.² The literary character of the schools themselves had risen considerably: Latin was taught in almost all, and Greek in a considerable number;³ at the same time a high standard in the elementary branches had been maintained. In fact, these schools had upheld the best traditions of the old parochial schools.

The Milne Bequest was in several respects similar to the Dick Bequest. The sum of £48,000 was left for the advancement of education in the county of Aberdeen by Dr. Milne, President of the Medical Board of Bombay, on his death in 1841. One of his expressed purposes was to improve the position of the country teacher, 'for so small was the pittance of salary which was in general bestowed on the

¹ The subjects of examination were Latin, Greek, English Grammar and Analysis, English Literature, History (outlines, ancient and modern), Geography (mathematical and physical), Physics, Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, and Trigonometry.

² 'Out of the 150 parish teachers in Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, at least 130 are Masters of Arts. You will find that nowhere else in Scotland.' *Evidence of H.M.I.S. for the District* (1873).

³ Thus, prior to 1872, while the proportion of pupils in country schools in Scotland receiving instruction in preparation for the University was 5½ per cent., the proportion in the three north-eastern countries was 7 per cent. Again, 'the proportion of Greek scholars in the north-eastern counties has for some years been 1.5 per cent. of the pupils, while in the rest of Scotland during the same period the proportion of Greek pupils in the parochial schools has never exceeded ½ per cent.' *Evidence of Professor Laurie* (1879).

parish schoolmasters in Scotland, that little inducement existed for men of any talent or acquirement to engage in such an office.' In order, therefore, 'to induce men of abilities and of education to engage in such a task,' the Trustees were directed to give to the most deserving parish schoolmasters sums of twenty pounds each on condition that they educated twenty-five poor children free. As with the Dick Bequest, the heritors or other persons were not to be relieved of their legal obligations. While modifications in the administration of these bequests were subsequently made by the Endowments Commissioners, so far as practicable the intentions of the founders have been carried into effect.

Down to 1872 the burgh or grammar schools in Scotland were miserably endowed. In the sixteenth century the efforts of the Reformed Church to provide for the schools out of the patrimony of the old Church had been ineffectual and very few private benefactions had been made. James VI and Queen Anne of Denmark showed some interest in education, the latter, for example, mortifying £2,000 Scots for the support of the schoolmaster and 'master of the song' of Dunfermline. But the net result did not amount to much. The best endowed of the grammar schools were the High School of Edinburgh and the Grammar School of Aberdeen; the Burgh School of Glasgow, strange to say, was unendowed.¹ Just before the passing of the Act of 1872, nineteen burgh schools out of twenty-nine had no endowment; while the remaining ten had but £1,400 in all. The Town Councils, however, with few exceptions, had been in the habit of making annual voluntary payments from the Common Good for the support of their schools which in the aggregate, in 1868, amounted to £5,600.² By the Act these voluntary contributions were made compulsory, and thus the burgh schools came to possess something in the nature of an

¹ The Education Commission reported in 1868 that the Edinburgh High School had an endowment applicable to teachers and general school purposes of £513; while the Aberdeen Grammar School had possessed, for more than 200 years, an endowment of a considerable amount—of annual value £164. *Report*, p. 61.

² See above, p. 189, footnote.

endowment.¹ The annual payments vary in amount from £30 to £700, and, as may be supposed, are not proportional to the incomes of the schools at the present time. Thus the Edinburgh High School receives about one-eleventh of its income from the Common Good, while the Paisley Grammar School has less than one-hundredth from a similar source. On the other hand, many of the academies and the secondary schools founded in the nineteenth century, or in the latter part of the eighteenth, were liberally endowed; and even where the endowment was modest, the cost of erecting a new building often represented the sinking of a large capital sum.² With the contributions from the Common Good, the whole of the endowments of the secondary schools, excluding private schools such as Loretto and Merchiston, amounted in the aggregate to a total of £16,550, a sum quite inadequate for the effective endowment of secondary education in Scotland.³

But the total sum of these endowments was quite small in comparison with other endowments which, in course of time, came to be applied to purposes of secondary education, chief among which were the lands and funds which had been mortified for hospitals. With the exception of a few towns, such as Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Stirling, all the hospitals were situated in Edinburgh or its vicinity, and as the city extended its bounds the mortified lands increased enormously in value. In 1872 the annual income from hospital endowments was almost one-half of the whole

¹ 'The average amount contributed for ten years has been approved by the Court.' Graham, *Manual of Education Acts*, p. 36.

² For a general account of the founding of these schools see above, p. 164 et seq.

³ Even the endowments of Scottish schools in which elementary instruction was chiefly given came to more than double this sum. In round numbers they amount to £42,979, and, at a later date, came to be applied mainly to purposes of secondary instruction.

It is instructive to compare the endowments of Scottish schools with those of one public school in England: Eton had an income from landed property of £20,569, besides thirty-seven livings in her exclusive gift worth £10,000 a year, with a probable accession of income from lands of £10,000 a year. *Education Commission Report* (1868), p. 17.

income from educational endowments in Scotland.¹ As some of the more important secondary schools originated in these hospital funds, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of their foundation and subsequent development.

The history of the hospital system may be said to date from the time of George Heriot, jeweller to James VI, who on his death, in 1642, in imitation of the 'publict pios and religious work foundat within the Citie of London callit Chrystis Hospitall', left funds for the purpose of endowing a hospital or seminary 'for educatione nursing and up-bringing of Youth being puir Orphans and fatherles childrene of decayit Burgesses and freemen' of Edinburgh.² Previous to this, the term 'hospital' had been applied to a house in which the poor were maintained. In 1659, the Hospital was opened with thirty boys—a number which increased to one hundred and thirty in 1695—who, according to the terms of the founder's will, were sent, on reaching a certain age, to the High School of Edinburgh for their education. This practice, however, was discontinued in 1809, when a teacher of Latin and French was appointed for the Hospital. Some years later (1835), when the annual surplus was £3,000, an Act of Parliament was obtained authorizing the establishment of free 'outdoor schools for the education of the children of the poorer classes of the city', a preference being given to burgesses' children. By the time the newly instituted School Boards had settled to work, the Heriot Trust had established sixteen schools in Edinburgh in which over 4,000 children were being educated in a very effective manner at an annual cost of £7,198.³

The Merchant Company of Edinburgh, comprising a large number of the leading merchants, bankers, and traders of Edinburgh and Leith, soon after its incorporation by Royal Charter in 1681, took into consideration the lack of due provision for the maintenance and education of indigent

¹ Annual revenue from hospital endowments £79,245; total income of educational endowments, £174,532. *Report of Colebrooke Commission* (1874).

² Bedford, *History of Heriot's Hospital*, p. 301.

³ The net revenue in 1873 was £18,950; and every year it was steadily increasing.

girls of the merchant class, and founded the Merchant Maiden Hospital for orphan girls, which was incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1707. This hospital was followed by others, so that in course of time the Company came to control an important group of them. George Watson, in 1723, and James Gillespie, in 1797, both merchants of Edinburgh, left funds for the founding of hospitals under the administration of the Company; the one for male children and grandchildren of decayed merchants of Edinburgh, the other for aged men and women. In addition, James Gillespie left funds for the erection and endowment of a free school for poor boys. When Daniel Stewart, of the Exchequer, Edinburgh, died, in 1814, still another hospital for poor boys of Edinburgh and neighbourhood was erected with the funds which he left for that purpose.¹

In addition to these, several other hospitals were founded in Edinburgh—the Orphan Hospital in 1733, John Watson's in 1828,² and James Donaldson's a few years later. In 1836, Sir William Fettes, Bart., of Comely Bank, near Edinburgh, on his death, left the residue of his property to certain Trustees to form an endowment for the maintenance, education, and outfit of young people, whose parents had either died without leaving sufficient funds for that purpose, or who, from innocent misfortunes during their own lives, were unable to give suitable education to their children. Instructions were left to erect a suitable building in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and somewhat ample discretionary powers were given to his Trustees as to the future administration of the funds. Owing partly to the over-supply of hospitals in Edinburgh, and partly to causes presently to be detailed, a hospital was not erected.

¹ In 1873-4 the net revenues from the foundations were: George Watson's £6,354; Merchant Maiden, £4,980; Daniel Stewart's, £3,147; James Gillespie's £1,772.

² John Watson, a Writer to the Signet, died in 1759 leaving about £5,000 apparently for 'the pious and charitable purpose of preventing child murder.' Owing to the difficulty of applying the funds, they were allowed to accumulate until 1822, when they had reached the sum of £61,276. An Act of Parliament was then obtained by which their destination could be diverted to the erection and endowment of a hospital.

In addition to the hospitals in Edinburgh and neighbourhood, similar institutions were founded in various other towns. In Glasgow, George Hutcheson mortified land and funds in 1639 for 'ane perfyte Hospital for entertainment of the poor aged decrepit men to be placed therein'.¹ His brother Thomas, who died two years later, mortified a tenement of land and an additional sum for the same purpose. So far these endowments were not for educational purposes, but Thomas Hutcheson had also mortified land and money for the purpose of erecting in connexion with the Hospital a 'commodious and distinct house by itself, for educating and harbouring of twelve male children, indigent orphans, or others of the like condition and quality,' who were to be burgesses' sons of the burgh of Glasgow. Again, in 1731, Robert Gordon, a merchant of Aberdeen, bequeathed his property towards the building of a hospital for indigent boys between the ages of eight and eleven who were to be 'wholesome and sound in their bodies at their entry' and 'decently apparelled'. This bequest was augmented in 1816, when Alexander Simpson of Collyhill left a considerable sum in land 'for entertaining and educating in Robert Gordon's Hospital or in any additional buildings to be added thereto' certain other poor boys.² A further bequest of £2,000 was left in 1827 under the will of George Hogg, of Shannaburn. In Stirling there were several hospitals which, like Hutcheson's in Glasgow, were not wholly educational.³ In the nineteenth century numerous other hospitals were founded, among which were Cauvin's at Duddingston, Stiell's at Tranent, Morgan's at Dundee, Schaw's at Prestonpans, Scott's at Greenock, and the Elgin Institution at Elgin.

¹ 20,000 merks; Thomas Hutcheson, in 1641, added 10,500 merks (£583 6s. 8d. sterling) for the hospital; also a third tenement of land, and 20,200 merks for the school.

² Robert Gordon's original endowment was £10,000, which in 1873 had increased to £164,417, yielding a net revenue for hospital purposes of £4,537. Simpson's yielded a gross revenue of £1,600 per annum.

³ Of the four hospitals in Stirling, two were in the nature of almshouses for adults. One of them, Spittal's, was supposed to have been founded as early as 1530 by Robert Spittal, tailor to King James IV.

By this time, however, opinion was setting against the hospital system. The results did not seem to be commensurate with the large expenditure. One of the main objections was the secluded or monastic life led by the children. No compensation was offered for the loss of the moral and social influence of home life. The premium put upon poverty and the absence of competition in the selection of foundationers, as well as the limited nature of the benefactions, often restricted as they were to certain guilds or sections of the community, or to those of particular names or places, were shown in practice to have been productive of consequences far from good. Such criticisms as these led the Fettes Trust and the Merchant Company to reconsider their position with regard to hospitals.

Acting upon the discretionary powers granted by the testator, the Trustees of the Fettes endowment rejected the plan of a hospital. In view of the fact that no school had as yet been erected in Scotland after the model of Rugby or Harrow, with a charitable foundation as its basis, nor that sufficient attention had been given to the cases of 'children of persons in the better classes—professional persons, persons in the army and navy, and in the learned professions—dying prematurely, and not leaving sufficient funds to carry out the education of their children in a manner suitable to the position in life of the parents; and also to cases in which the parents had suffered during their lives severe and unexpected losses from no fault of their own, but from innocent misfortune, and so had been rendered unable to educate their children in a suitable manner', the Trustees decided to erect a school on the model of the great public schools of England.¹ Accordingly, in 1870, in the northern suburbs of Edinburgh, the Fettes College was

¹ Extract from a statement made by Lord Justice-General Inglis, one of the Trustees.

The capital sum left by Sir W. Fettes was £171,163 14s. 10d.; and it was estimated that in a few years, after the expense of building the College and two boarding-houses had been paid, the capital, including the value of the landed estates, in which it was for the most part invested, would amount to about £250,000.

erected in extensive grounds and surrounded by a playing field of ten acres. Although it was primarily intended to be a boarding school, day scholars were admitted on certain conditions; and, while fees were charged, it was arranged that fifty boys should be admitted as foundationers and maintained and educated in the College at the expense of the endowment.

In the meantime the Merchant Company had taken action by instituting an independent inquiry into the system which obtained in the four hospitals under its control,¹ and the Report, which followed closely upon some strictures which the Argyll Commissioners had passed upon the hospital system generally, convinced the Company of the necessity of reform. Mainly through its efforts, an 'Act to make provision for the better Government and Administration of Hospitals and other Endowed Institutions in Scotland' was passed by Parliament in 1869. In the following year, in accordance with the terms of the Act, Provisional Orders were obtained by which the chief defects of the system were removed, and the benefits of the endowments were largely extended by converting the hospitals into day schools in which secondary as well as elementary education was provided. Two collegiate schools, one for boys and the other for girls, on the south side of Edinburgh, superseded George Watson's Hospital; while in the west of Edinburgh a lower secondary school took the place of Daniel Stewart's Hospital.² The Edinburgh Institution for Young Ladies, and a house for foundationers, in the north of Edinburgh, superseded the Merchant Maiden Hospital, and Gillespie's Hospital gave place to a large elementary school, the aged persons on the foundation receiving money allowances in place of board and lodging.

¹ This inquiry was conducted by S. S. Laurie (Professor Laurie) in 1868, who, about the same time, was entrusted with a similar commission by the Governors of Heriot's and Donaldson's Hospitals.

² These three schools, now known as Daniel Stewart's College, George Watson's Boys' College, and George Watson's Ladies' College, have at the present time a total in average attendance of 2,415, of whom 1,501 are above the age of twelve. *Secondary Education Report* (1908), p. 56.

Other hospitals, such as Heriot's, were proposing to obtain Provisional Orders when the Home Office declined to sanction their schemes, as going beyond the scope of the Act.¹ The Colebrooke Commission was then appointed (1872) to make a full inquiry into the Endowed Schools and Hospitals of Scotland. After an interval of three years, its Report was issued, in which it recommended, in respect of hospitals, the abolition of the monastic system, the introduction of competition among prospective foundationers and the reduction of their number, the opening up of hospital schools to all at moderate fees, and the promotion of higher education with the available endowments. In consequence, the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act was passed in 1878, by which it was again made possible for governing bodies of such institutions to obtain Provisional Orders for the better application of the funds of educational endowments, and the Moncreiff Commission was appointed to work under the Act. Several Provisional Orders were granted, one of the principal having regard to Robert Gordon's Hospital in Aberdeen (1881), by which the Governors were given power to convert the Hospital into a college or day school under the title of Robert Gordon's College in Aberdeen. The permissive nature of the Act, however, led to comparatively little being done in the way of reform, either in the remaining hospitals or in endowments generally. A few years later was passed the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act (1882), under which the Balfour Commission was appointed with certain compulsory powers. In addition to hospital endowments, a mass of other endowments applicable to education came under review and their destinations were settled—at least for a time.

Before considering the work of this Commission, we note that in 1872 the Royal Incorporation of Hutchesons' Hospital² had applied for and obtained an Act of Parliament in which it was given power to extend its educational

¹ Bathgate Academy, however, succeeded in obtaining a Provisional Order.

² A Royal Charter had been obtained in 1821.

agencies. Owing to the passing of the Education Act in the same year, the Incorporation delayed further action until it was seen what provision the newly-elected School Board of Glasgow would make for education. However, in 1876, the school was extended at a cost of £26,000, a new school was founded for girls, and the name Hutchesons' Grammar School was given to both. The intention was to provide a superior education at a moderate cost, and, as in Fettes College, a limited number of foundationers were to be admitted.¹ It will be noticed that the distinctive features in the schemes of reorganization of these 'hospital' schools were the provision for higher instruction, the power to charge fees, and the establishment of a certain number of free places or foundations.

Returning now to the Act of 1882, we find that the purpose, as expressed in the preamble, was to extend the usefulness of educational endowments in Scotland, to carry out more fully than was done at that time the spirit of the founders' intentions, and, so far as might be, to make an adequate portion of them available for affording boys and girls of promise opportunities for obtaining higher education of the kind best suited to aid their advancement in life. The Commissioners were empowered to inquire into all educational endowments in Scotland except those gifted subsequent to the passing of the Education Act of 1872, or those under the immediate control of the Universities, or those in connexion with theological instruction or belonging to a theological institution, and, after due consideration of the views of existing governing bodies and the claims of the various districts, to draft schemes and submit them for the approval of the Scotch Education Department. In framing these schemes, regard was to be had to vested interests and

¹ Just about the same time Allan Glen's Institution, founded under the will of Allan Glen, wright, of Glasgow, in 1853, for the purpose of giving 'gratuitously, a good practical education to about fifty boys, sons of tradesmen or persons in the industrial classes of society', was reorganized under Allan Glen's Institution Act, 1876, on the basis of a high-class secondary and technical school with special 'reference to the training of boys intended for industrial and mercantile pursuits'.

the interests of particular classes, the selection of beneficiaries by merit, the tenure of office of teachers at pleasure of the governing body, and the constitution of the governing body so that it might be composed mainly of persons elected by public bodies. In the result, almost 1,200 endowments, upwards of £200,000 in value, passed under the review of the Commissioners.

Of the remaining hospital endowments, Heriot's is the only one which we propose to consider further. The scheme, as approved by the Department in 1885,¹ provided for the discontinuance within a stated period of the elementary schools maintained by the Governors, and the establishment of a secondary school for boys in the hospital buildings—the George Heriot's Hospital School. Powers were given to extend the buildings so as to provide laboratory and workshop accommodation—and the school was to have a 'modern' curriculum, Greek being excluded. An extensive system of school and University bursaries was founded. The Governors had to establish, with the Watt Institution and School of Arts² as its nucleus, a College for scientific and technical instruction under the name of the Heriot-Watt College, and to make provision for a system of evening classes in technical, scientific, and literary subjects.

It should be noticed that, under certain limitations, the Commissioners were given powers to apply non-educational endowments to educational purposes, and to amalgamate endowments where it seemed desirable. As a rule, the smaller endowments were amalgamated and placed under the control of the local School Boards. In dealing with so large a number of small endowments—at least 937, each under £50, were known—the Commissioners proceeded upon

¹ An attempt had been made by the Governors to obtain a Provisional Order under the Act of 1878.

² The School of Arts had been established in 1821 'for the purpose of the better education of the Mechanics in Edinburgh in such branches of physical science as were of practical application in their several trades'. In 1851, as a memorial to the memory of James Watt, a building was purchased for the better accommodation of the School of Arts, which thereafter assumed the name of the Watt Institution and School of Arts. *First Report of Endowed Commission* (1880), pp. xlix-l.

certain principles. For poor scholars of promise the school fees were paid up to the fifth standard. Under the Act of 1872 the fees might have been paid by the Parochial Boards, but it was urged upon the Commissioners that there existed a certain class in need of assistance whom it was not wise to force into seeking help from such a quarter. After provision had been made for the payment of fees, in general three classes of bursaries were established: for those who required assistance for one or two years beyond the fifth standard; for those who aimed at a course of higher instruction extending over two or three years;¹ and for those who wished to attend the University. The second principle upon which the Commissioners acted was that of making provision for higher or technical education in the localities to which the endowments belonged. While lack of funds prevented much being done in the way of erecting buildings, improvement in the teaching of the higher branches of study was guaranteed by the granting of an annual payment to the local School Board on condition that teachers of superior attainments were provided to give higher instruction.

The effects of the Act of 1872 had made it very necessary that something should be done to bring the endowments left for education into harmony with them. So long as there were difficulties in the way of obtaining education, so long would charitably-disposed persons make provision for educating poor children. But the difficulties in the seventeenth century were not the same as those at the end of the nineteenth, when elementary instruction had become free to all.² Endowments for elementary education under such circumstances ceased to confer an educational benefit. The problem was, how to preserve in the altered state of matters the spirit of the founders' intentions, and there can be little doubt that the applications of such funds to purposes of higher education was a just and wise provision, and one

¹ The bursaries were generally of the value of £10 to £15 a year, and were awarded by competition among children up to 14 years of age.

² *Local Government (Scot.) Act, 1889*; *Local Taxation (Custom and Excise) Act, 1890*.

quite in sympathy with the spirit which had prompted the benefactions in an age when education was difficult of attainment.

The Balfour Commission continued its work for several years, and reviewed, as we have stated, upwards of £200,000 of endowments, but subsequent modifications in the educational system of the country have necessitated further revisions of the schemes,¹ the consideration of which, while interesting as a record of progressive development, do not warrant any further description at this stage.

¹ For example, the Merchant Company has just printed a draft Provisional Order, dated December 17, 1908, regarding the administration, &c., of its educational endowments.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LEAVING CERTIFICATE

THE outstanding feature in the history of secondary education during the twenty years immediately succeeding the passing of the Education Act of 1872 was the institution of the leaving certificate examination, by which secondary instruction in the higher class public school, the higher class school, and the state-aided school, was brought to the test of a common examination and thence linked to the work in the University. As the secondary school and the state-aided school approached this common point along different paths, it will be necessary to consider their development separately; after which we propose to outline certain important reforms in the University which had a direct bearing upon secondary education.

I. THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

The secondary school was left for a time to develop individually and locally; no effort was made to secure uniformity of organization, or to define, even in a general way, the constituents of a secondary course of instruction. The modern element, the introduction of which had been the characteristic development of the first half of the nineteenth century, had, with few exceptions, only partially amalgamated with the ancient classical studies. Nor did there arise important secondary schools of an avowedly modern type, in which Greek was discarded and greater stress laid upon Mathematics and Science, until the reorganization of educational endowments brought into existence such schools as Allan Glen's of Glasgow, Gordon's College of Aberdeen,¹ and George Heriot's of Edinburgh. To many

¹ In the Provisional Order (1881) for Gordon's College, Latin was not enumerated in the list of subjects to be taught.

the University remained the goal of a secondary school course, and this entailed the continued inclusion in the curriculum of the 'University subjects'—Latin, Greek, and Mathematics—coupled, it might be, with such other subjects as could be taught conveniently or might add to the income of the school.¹ As in England, secondary instruction still continued to suffer from lack of organization, and the absence of any authoritative pronouncement upon the aim and scope of the secondary school such as a State Board of Studies, comprising representative educational experts, would have guaranteed.

This period is characterized by the rise of many well-endowed higher class schools,² and the relative decline, in general, of higher class public schools. The success of the former was due to the ample funds at their disposal, the enlightened policy of the Boards expressly constituted for their management, and the skilful organization of each school under one able head master;³ the relative decline of the latter was due largely to their lack of resources and the inadequate financial support they received from the School Boards. We have seen that by the Act of 1872 the funds of these schools might consist of fees, endowments,

¹ See Chapter XIV.

² In 1877 the Kelvinside Academy, Glasgow, was built by private enterprise at a cost of £35,000.

The High School of Dundee received an endowment of £20,000 in the following way: A dispute arose between the School Board and the Directors of the School over the fees, the latter declining to lower them. Thereupon the Board determined to lay claim to the School under Section 24 of the Act of 1872, and convert it into a grant-earning one. Rather than this should occur, Mr. William Harris offered £30,000—£10,000 to the School Board if they renounced their claims to the High School and established a public school under the Education Act with a higher department, and £20,000 to the High School on condition of its being managed by a Directorate other than a popularly-elected School Board. Of the new Directorate seven were appointed by the representatives of Mr. Harris, seven by the Town Council, and seven by subscribers to the school funds. The School Board thereafter erected the Harris Academy as a state-aided school, which subsequently took rank as a higher grade school.

³ *Committee of Inquiry into Education in Scotland, Third Report* (1888), p. xi. Two schools were specially mentioned—George Watson's College and Gordon's College.

and contributions from the Common Good, and that the two latter were ordinarily only small. Recognizing that something should be done to assist higher class public schools, the State, by a section in the Education Act of 1878,¹ enacted that School Boards, having the management of such schools, were bound to maintain the school buildings out of the school fund, and were empowered to pay from the same fund such other expenses for the promotion of efficient education in them as was necessary ; provided that, in both cases, the consent of the Department was first obtained.² With few exceptions, the School Boards had failed to carry out the spirit of this clause. In two of the larger burghs—Edinburgh and Glasgow—the School Boards were not illiberal in their treatment of the High Schools under their management. In Aberdeen the Grammar School received no subsidy from the rates ; on the contrary, for some years the School Board had even expended its endowment of £600 a year on repairs and alterations.³

In the smaller burghs the charge against their School Boards of starving the higher teaching was often too well founded. As the members were elected largely by the operative classes, whatever their own private views might have been, they dared not propose any expenditure out of the rates on the high school of the district.⁴ That the secondary education area was much wider than the area upon which the rate was levied no doubt had much to do with this parsimonious spirit ; the town naturally objected to rate itself for the country. The report of the Committee of Inquiry, issued in 1888, so far as it had reference to secondary schools, made it clear that, if higher class public schools were to develop at all commensurably with endowed

¹ Education (Scot.) Act 1878, Section 18.

² Ibid.

³ Edinburgh High School received about £900 a year from the rates, and the School Board had spent about £4,600 on new buildings. At the same time (1888) it was reported that, besides £570 a year from the Corporation, the Glasgow High School received £400 each year from the rates, and that the School Board was about to spend £10,000 on additional buildings. *Committee of Inquiry, Third Report (1888)*, p. iv.

⁴ *Evidence of Professor Laurie*, Ibid.

schools, they would have to receive adequate financial support from the State. At the same time the Committee emphasized the principle that wherever aid was given it should, in general, be made contingent on adequate local contributions.

The statutory examination, enjoined by the Act (1872) upon the higher class public school, although it did not immediately supersede the visitation or public examination of former years, to a limited extent gave expression to the principle of the compulsory examination of the secondary school. And from this examination we shall trace the steps by which the State or leaving certificate examination, which has played so important a part in moulding the character and form of secondary instruction in Scotland, came to be established. Very different, however, was the statutory examination from its successor of to-day. The examiners were usually University Professors, and their criticisms and suggestions were no doubt stimulating. To a certain extent, too, particularly where the same examiner inspected a group of schools, their influence tended to promote a measure of homogeneity of effort, though in the aggregate it did not amount to much. But, in the opinion of many, since they were appointed and remunerated by the School Board, they were not sufficiently independent of the local authority. At length, by the Education Act of 1878, it was made lawful for the Department, on application from a School Board, to conduct an examination of a higher class public school, in place of the statutory examination, with a view to ascertaining its general efficiency and the character of its higher work. While the Managers of a higher class school—as yet they were not compelled to hold an annual examination—might apply for a similar examination, they had to undertake to pay such expenses in connexion with it as the Department might deem necessary. The opportunity thus afforded the School Boards of having an independent examination at no cost to the school fund induced many of them to make application for one; but, principally on account of lack of funds, the Department was unable to undertake the work until some years later.

The next advance came in 1882, when, by the Educational Endowments Act of that year, the obligation was laid upon the Department of periodically inspecting a school sharing in an endowment, the cost of the inspection to fall upon the endowment. The difficulties in the way of carrying out this obligation were not removed until 1885, when the Scottish Education Department was reorganized, the change involving the appointment of the Secretary for Scotland as Vice-President of the Department and responsible to Parliament for its administration, and the reconstruction of the staff on a separate basis. This arrangement, while it preserved certain important relations between the administration of the education grants in England and Scotland, offered a guarantee that separate and careful attention would be given to the special requirements of Scotland.¹

Just before this reorganization the Department had issued a circular² to Managers of secondary schools in order to gather information with a view to instituting a state-inspection of secondary schools, in terms of the Acts of 1878 and 1882. A second circular³ followed a few months later, in which it was intimated that, on considering the replies to the first circular, the Department had resolved to conduct an inspection of such higher class schools as applied for it, the expenses for higher class public schools to be borne by a temporary grant from the Treasury, other higher schools to pay their own share of the expenses; and that, whatever might be the arrangement in the future, no uniform plan was to be adopted at first—the inspections were to be individual, according to the circumstances of each locality, and the objects aimed at by each school. The circular also stated that a suggestion had been made that

¹ This reorganization followed upon the Secretary for Scotland Act (1885). While the Lord President remained head of both the Scottish and the English branches, the Secretary for Scotland, a 'Minister who is intimately associated with the general guidance of Scottish administration', was made responsible for the educational policy of the country. Craik, *State and Education*, p. 172.

On this reorganization, Mr. Henry Craik (Sir Henry Craik) was appointed Permanent Secretary.

² Circular 67, June 12, 1885.

³ Circular 74, January 15, 1886.

a certificate might be issued based on the results of the examination of the highest classes, but that before such a plan was adopted the matter would have to be considered in all its aspects.

The inspection was held in the same year (1886), but no general report of it was published. One of the examiners,¹ however, on receiving the permission of the Department, conducted an experiment in twelve schools which came under his inspection in a single subject, Mathematics, 'to test the possibility of instituting a general leaving examination for secondary schools in Scotland,' and reported that, in respect of this subject, such an examination would be attended with no great difficulty.² Accordingly, in the following year, in the instructions to the examiners, the Department, while asking for a general report on the efficiency of the school, expressed a wish to have a statement of the marks assigned to some of the higher scholars and the examiners' views with regard to the expediency of issuing a certificate to individual scholars as a result of a final or 'leaving' examination.³ The report of this second inspection (1887) gives an instructive account of the condition of the internal organization and work of higher class schools in Scotland at that time. Twenty-two higher class public schools, ten endowed schools, and six schools under voluntary management, thirty-eight in all, applied for State inspection. While some of these schools—notably, the High School of Glasgow, and the Glasgow Academy—had reached a high standard of efficiency, the signs of failure, on the other hand, were numerous, and were due in a large measure to inadequate staffing, to the premature withdrawal of pupils from school, and, in some cases, to antiquated methods of teaching. In many schools the subjects of instruction had not varied for fifty years, which 'naturally produced in the minds of parents a doubt as to the utility of the education

¹ Professor Chrystal.

² General Report by Prof. Chrystal on the examination in Mathematics of twelve secondary schools in Scotland. *Education Report* (1886-7), pp. 119-22.

³ *Circular* 88, May 1887.

offered, in its application to the practical necessities of life'. Nor did the blame rest altogether with the teachers, who frequently performed excellent work under discouraging conditions. There was no common standard, and a very wide divergence between the range and achievement of schools nominally of the same class, as well as considerable doubt and difference of opinion as to the proper aims and organization of a secondary school.¹

With the experience gained from these two State inspections the Department was encouraged to make a further advance, but only after consulting the authorities of secondary or higher class schools, the Universities, and others interested in secondary education in Scotland, whether as teachers, inspectors, or otherwise, and with the approval of a Committee of Inquiry² appointed to investigate certain questions relating to education in Scotland. As the result, it decided to institute a uniform *simultaneous* written examination (1888)—the leaving certificate examination—and to offer this in place of the individual written examinations which, in the previous year, had formed an integral part of the inspection of those secondary schools examined under the Education Act of 1878 and the Educational Endowments Act of 1882.

While this examination was open only to higher class schools it was not compulsory upon them, nor was it necessarily connected with the State inspection.³ But, partly through certain advantages which came to be associated with it and partly through its intrinsic merits, it has come to be accepted by practically all the higher schools in Scotland. For one thing, the Department proposed, in the case of those schools which presented several pupils for the leaving certificate examination, to confine the State inspection to an oral examination; for another, various professional bodies had indicated their readiness to accept the new

¹ *Education Report* (1886-7), pp. xxviii-xxix; *Ibid.* (1887-8), p. xxix.

² *Committee of Inquiry, Third Report* (1888), p. xvi.

³ *Education Report* (1887-8), p. 114.

examination as a substitute for their own.¹ But perhaps one of the chief inducements was that the examination, without interfering with other existing systems,² would contribute materially to the concentration of work in secondary schools where much inconvenience had been caused by the necessity of preparing pupils for various examinations, of much the same standard, but based, in each case, upon different prescribed books.

In order to secure a uniform and high standard, professors in the Scottish Universities were invited to take a share in the supervision of the examination. To the Managers of each school was left the onus of fixing the minimum period of attendance which should qualify a candidate for presentation as a pupil of the school. The examination was held simultaneously in each school and a small fee was charged for each paper, or when the Managers preferred, a slump sum was paid for the whole of the candidates from each school. Three grades of certificates for each subject were issued :³ an honours grade, the standard for which corresponded to that of the examinations of the Indian Civil Service ; a higher grade, up to the standard of examination required for entry upon the *three years'* course at the University ; and a lower grade, corresponding to the standard for the medical preliminary examination. Every effort was made to avoid imposing regulations which might fetter the freedom and individuality of schools, and consequently the examination was general and not based upon any prescribed books, its purpose being to test the general attainments of each pupil in each subject. In all, 972 candidates entered, and out of a possible 2,925 certificates in the various grades, 2,334 were granted.

¹ The Society of Solicitors, General Medical Council, Royal College of Surgeons, Pharmaceutical Society, Institute of Accountants and Actuaries, &c.

² Such as 'the wider system of local examinations, as then conducted by the Universities'. *Circular* 93, March 1888.

³ Examination papers were set in six subjects : Mathematics (including Arithmetic), English (including questions in Modern History and Geography), Latin, Greek, French, and German.

It is important to notice that this leaving certificate examination was instituted in connexion with higher class schools, and, in its inception, had no reference to state-aided schools. But this was not allowed to pass unchallenged. In reply to those who desired to see the examination extended, the Department stated that it was confined to secondary or higher class schools by Act of Parliament, and, consequently, could not be extended. The Department, indeed, expressed doubts as to the expediency of such a step : 'At present no one is excluded by the examination from any privilege previously enjoyed under existing systems of examination ; while there are obvious advantages in the issue of one certificate which will not merely attest the amount of information acquired by the candidates, but also the fact that they have passed through a course of education in a recognized secondary school. We look to this as a strong and deserved encouragement to such schools, of the decadence of which in recent years many complaints have reached us.'¹

Although the leaving certificate examination as then instituted presented some superficial points of resemblance to the *Abiturienten Examen*, it differed from it in two fundamental points. In the first place, the Prussian examination was not an examination with respect to individual subjects as such ; it was an examination, rather, of a secondary course of instruction carried out according to a curriculum defined by the State, and such that a 'scholar of fair ability and proper diligence, might at the end of his school course come to with a quiet mind and without a painful preparatory effort tending to relaxation and torpor as soon as the effort was over'.² The purpose was to discover whether the pupil had duly profited by his school course as well as to test whether he was ripe for the University or other higher educational institution. Accordingly, proficiency in each subject of the curriculum was not essential to success in

¹ *Education Report* (1887-8), p. xxxi.

² Matthew Arnold, *Schools and Universities*, p. 182. See also *Royal Commission Report on Secondary Education* (1895), vol. v, pp. 27-33, for an account by Mr. Michael E. Sadler of the *Abiturienten Examen*.

the examination. In the second place, the examination was not conducted by external examiners, but by a Commission comprising the head of the school, the teachers of the highest class, and a specially appointed member of the Provincial Board of Inspectors. Thus consideration was given to the day-by-day work of the pupil as distinct from stress being laid upon the particular amount of knowledge a pupil could show by written and oral examinations at a particular point of time in his school career. Incidentally it may be mentioned that all incentives to rivalry, whether of schools or pupils, were discouraged.

On the contrary, the leaving certificate examination had no essential connexion with the secondary school course. It did not depend upon any well-defined curriculum and in no sense was the total cultivation of the candidate its primary object. At its best it had a little influence in the development of a course of secondary education, but not much; at its worst it degenerated into a series of disconnected examinations, spread over a number of years, in subjects selected without any pretence to educational aim or co-ordination. Neither was there any desire shown by the Department to utilize the experience of the teacher in assessing the value of the pupils' work. To a certain extent, however, these defects have been removed by later regulations which will be discussed in another section.

2. STATE-AIDED SCHOOLS

For several years after the passing of the Education Act the efforts of the Department were concentrated upon the development of state-aided schools. Not only had necessary and efficient provision to be made for elementary education, but the traditional higher education given in the parish schools, now managed by School Boards, had also to be conserved. The one was effected successfully and expeditiously; the other, in which we are more directly interested, was not easily nor readily achieved, and was the subject of much discussion for more than twenty years.

To ensure that the standard of education which then existed in the public schools should not be lowered, it was

necessary that provision should be made for the continued teaching of at least the 'University subjects'.¹ The Department, however, having regard to the fact that the majority of pupils in these schools were not destined for the University, but rather for mercantile or industrial occupations, made a much more liberal provision than this when drawing up the Code under which the grant was to be distributed. The scheme included, in addition to Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, Modern Languages and a group of science subjects.² In all, thirteen subjects, arranged in three years' courses, were enumerated under the name of 'specific subjects', for the teaching of which, under certain conditions, special grants, the same for each, were offered. Several criticisms were directed against this scheme. It was said that, by providing for subjects other than those required for the University, the spirit of the Act had not been observed;³ that the standard of attainment in purely elementary work under the new system of Departmental inspection would be so exacting as to react most unfavourably upon the teaching of specific subjects; and that, since the grants were the same for all, the tendency would be to reject the more difficult subjects—Latin, Greek, and Mathematics—and to teach the easier ones, not to speak of the temptation to teach a large number of pupils the first stage of a subject in preference to teaching a few the higher stages. Doubtless there was some truth in these criticisms, but it is instructive to note that the number of pupils taking specific subjects increased enormously during the four years 1874–8, while the number of pupils presented for Latin and Mathematics was almost doubled in the same period.⁴

¹ Latin, Greek, and Mathematics.

² Linguistic: English Literature and Language, French, German. Science: Mechanics, Chemistry, Animal Physiology, Light and Heat, Magnetism and Electricity, Physical Geography, Botany. The Principles of Agriculture, and Domestic Economy (girls) were afterwards added.

³ Evidence of Professor Laurie, *Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Commission* (1880).

⁴ In 1874, 4,407 pupils were presented for examination in specifics; while in 1878, 33,777 pupils came forward for examination. *Education Report* (1878–9), p. xiv.

Notwithstanding the evidence of these statistics, the feeling of uneasiness still prevailed ; so much so that in 1878, when the Endowed Institutions Act was passed, the Commissioners appointed under it were required to submit for the consideration of the Department their views as to the conditions on which the Parliamentary grant for public education in Scotland might be most advantageously distributed for the purpose of promoting education in the higher branches of knowledge in public and state-aided schools, especially in those districts in which there were no higher class public schools. The Commissioners reported (1880) that, owing to the extensive area and scanty population of some of the parishes, it was practically impossible, with the resources then available, to establish a system of secondary schools for rural districts. Irrespective of this, they were of opinion that it was possible to combine thorough elementary teaching with instruction in the higher branches, and that any separation of these subjects was detrimental to the tone of the school and dispiriting to the master.¹ The report, moreover, while favourable to the continuation of the teaching of specific subjects in general, condemned the science subjects on the ground that it was impossible to teach them in a truly scientific way to children of school age.² Several recommendations were made of which the principal had reference to increasing the staff, reducing the

¹ Professor Laurie, in his evidence, quoted an interesting case of what one schoolmaster had done in a rural school of 100 pupils in the North, with but one female assistant. With four classes in Latin, the highest of which read Livy and Virgil, and two classes in Greek, the highest reading Xenophon's *Anabasis*, he was able to show work equal to that of the best secondary schools in Edinburgh or Glasgow. Ten pupils had made considerable progress in French, and seven pupils were well up in two books of Euclid and in Algebra. In English a play of Shakespeare was read in the highest class. The ordinary Code work had not suffered in the slightest ; Drawing exercises were well done, and Music was taught from notation, the children being able to sing in parts. *Report of Endowed Institutions (Scot.) Commission* (1880), p. 5.

² This is hardly surprising when it is remembered that few, if any, of the teachers had received any scientific training. Even the Commissioners were constrained to say that some guarantee should be taken 'that an inspector himself possesses special knowledge of the subjects in which he is to examine'. *Ibid.*, p. xv.

number of specific subjects, paying a higher grant for a higher stage, and providing in every parish at least one teacher qualified to give instruction in higher subjects.

Very little resulted from this Commission. It was expected that the Commissioners under the Educational Endowments Act of 1882, in reorganizing the endowments, would be able to make some better provision for extending the facilities for higher instruction ; but, as the endowments were confined mainly to the towns, the country districts benefited little from them. The grants for specific subjects still remained the main support of higher instruction in the rural schools, and each year a steady increase in the number of pupils presented for examination in them was recorded. While the elementary schools continued to send large numbers direct to the University, opinions regarding the effect of specific subjects upon higher education were not uniformly favourable.¹

Throughout this period a marked increase in the demands of the industrial classes for higher education is observable. As the secondary schools, both in number, resources, and scale of fees were unable to meet these wants, recourse was had to the further development of the state-aided school. Under the Endowments Commission, provision had been made, or was being made, for the free education of a certain number of the poorer classes ; but this, far from satisfying the demands, had stimulated the desire for higher education. Since the fees in most of the secondary schools were so high as to be prohibitory, if the privilege of higher instruction was to be made available to the artisan class—and the Act of 1872 had distinct reference to the *efficient*

¹ The Principal of Glasgow University is reported as saying : ' By far the greater number of University students come direct to us from the elementary schools.'

In Aberdeen, however, it appears that the action of the Code had had an opposite tendency. ' It would not take more than the fingers on one hand to count the schools which, with reasonable concessions to broader culture, have steadily adhered to the traditions of the past.'

About this time the ratio of University students to the population was 1 to 5,000 in England, and 1 to 617 in Scotland. *Education Report* (1884-5), pp. 177-8.

education of the *whole* people of Scotland—either the secondary school system would have to be extended and subsidized with a view to reducing the fees or opening up free places, or the range of education in the state-aided schools would have to be developed to meet increasing demands.

It would have been quite logical for the State to give direct assistance to the secondary school. Both elementary and University education were being subsidized by it. Experience had shown that it was almost hopeless to expect the School Board to extend and develop its higher class public school entirely at the expense of the local rates. A grant from the State might have induced the local authority to contribute a like amount; but the State gave no assistance, and, the impossibility of providing a good secondary education without charging a fairly high fee, and one which closed the door to the children of parents of limited means, led the School Boards to attempt a development of higher departments in the elementary schools upon a basis of specific subjects. The grants from these, together with grants earned by teaching Science and Art subjects under the regulations of the Science and Art Department, and the income from moderate fees, though not sufficient to defray the whole of the cost of this higher work, would go part of the way, and the rest could be obtained from the school fund, any deficiency in which came from the rates. Thus many School Boards, which, according to the spirit of the Act of 1872, should have provided higher class public schools, preferred to develop higher departments in their public schools with grant-earning specific subjects as a basis, in order that the higher education they provided might be financed largely from the Imperial Exchequer.¹

¹ Thus the 'Academies' of Dumbarton (pop. 14,000) and Kilmarnock (pop. 26,000) were earning large grants under the Code, and presumably were institutions in which 'the education given consisted chiefly of elementary instruction in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic', but regarding which the Committee of Inquiry in 1888 said: 'If such is really the condition of the highest schools in these burghs, it is to be regretted; if, on the contrary, the grants are in fact helping largely to support secondary

An obvious danger was that a curriculum of specific subjects might be mistaken for a course of secondary instruction—the shadow for the substance. While it was a real one in the smaller burghs, no such apprehensions were entertained in larger centres such as Glasgow and Govan. In the latter, in 1885, the avowed policy was to provide schools giving not only a high class commercial education, but an education which would prepare pupils for the University after ‘the custom hitherto pursued in the better class of parish schools in Scotland’.¹ And the fees in these schools were much less than those charged in the High School or the Academies.

This development of higher work in the public school was quite in sympathy with the genius of Scottish education, but it was not allowed to pass without criticism. In Glasgow, where a well-equipped school, providing a four years’ course of secondary education for pupils beyond the standards of the Code, had been erected, it was urged that the School Board had exceeded its powers and that education provided at the expense of the ratepayers—at least in part—ought not to enter into competition with that provided in the secondary schools, which had no such assistance from the rates. Apparently, however, the State was not prepared to interfere, and matters were allowed to continue.

The suggestion, as we have seen, that higher departments of state-aided schools should be permitted to present pupils in the leaving certificate examination had not been entertained; yet ‘the achievements in the Universities of the pupils who came from those schools, seemed to prove that the instruction was not altogether inefficient’.² Indeed, it was stated in 1889 that the greater number of University entrants still came direct from primary schools.³

In the country schools, where the resources were more limited, the temptation to concentrate upon the teaching education, it would be a better policy to avow this, and assign to the highest work done its own share of public aid.’ *Committee of Inquiry, Third Report*, p. vi.

¹ *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 167.

² *Education Report* (1886–7), p. xxi.

³ *Ibid.* (1889–90), p. 271.

of those specific subjects, by which the grant was more easily earned, was strong enough to have an adverse influence upon the teaching of the more difficult subjects, as Mathematics and Latin. So evident was this that the Committee of Inquiry (1888) stated that 'it must be regarded as the deliberate policy of the Education Department, and of Parliament, to prefer the interests of the many to those of the few, the increase and improvement of lower to the maintenance of higher education'.¹ On the face of it, this criticism does not square with the efforts put forth by the Department, in the Code of 1886, to improve the condition of higher education in the Highlands. In parish schools in the northern counties,² in which a graduate in Arts or Science was employed, a largely increased grant had been offered for the teaching of specific subjects. Four years later, the effect of this was seen in the increased number of passes in specific subjects in these schools, and the consequent augmentation of grant earned.³ The Committee of Inquiry was disposed to go even further; it recommended that a similar principle should be extended to country schools generally.

The Code of 1890, by reducing the number of specific subjects with strictly prescribed courses, made provision for their better organization. School Managers were permitted to select subjects best suited for the locality and to draw up graduated schemes of their own for the approval of the Department. If scientific subjects were selected the stipulation was made that they should be taught mainly by experiment and illustration. Considerable advantage was taken of this liberty; within three years twenty-one subjects had met with the approval of the Department.⁴ But the weak part of the scheme was the limitation of a specific subject to a three years' course. As pupils often remained

¹ *Committee of Inquiry, Third Report*, p. viii.

² Inverness, Argyll, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland.

³ In 1880 the passes were 379 and the grant £114; in 1890, the corresponding figures were 2,093 and £628. *Education Reports*.

⁴ Including Navigation, Shorthand, Gaelic, Geology, and Woollen Manufacturing.

at school for four or five years beyond the purely elementary grades, it was not educationally sound that, for the purpose of earning grant, they should be required to study a set of new subjects after completing a three years' course in one or more.¹ In fact, where a school could afford to dispense with the grant, as in some of the better-organized schools in the larger towns, the three years' courses, particularly in the University subjects, were extended to four or five years.

Two important events with reference to state-aided schools occurred in 1892. In the first place, the Department, anticipating the passing of the Education and Local Taxation Account Act, and desirous of testing the extent to which higher instruction was being given in state-aided schools, admitted candidates from these schools to the leaving certificate examination. Although this was contrary to its original intention, the result was a sufficient justification for the change of front. If the state-aided school was really providing higher instruction, and this examination, not to speak of the evidence the University afforded, demonstrated that it was, then it was inevitable that in due course it must come to the test of a common State examination of secondary instruction. And the continued admission of pupils from state-aided schools to the leaving certificate examination may be taken as a tacit acknowledgement that the higher instruction given in these schools was at least comparable, so far as it went, with that given in higher class schools.

In the next place an effort was made to give greater definiteness of aim to an elementary education by instituting a certificate which should be the goal of the elementary school. While the standard was fixed a little beyond that of purely elementary work, this certificate may be looked upon as a definition of the upper limit of an elementary school. The Code of 1892 stated that a 'certificate of merit' would be granted to any scholar over thirteen years of age who satisfied the inspector that he had attained

¹ *Education Report* (1890-1), p. 304.

a standard of thorough proficiency in the three elementary subjects, as well as in two class subjects,¹ and who, in addition, had passed an examination embracing all the stages of one specific subject. The primary intention was to institute a test in elementary subjects, and thus to ensure, as the best introduction to the ordinary business of life, or to higher education, a thorough grounding in elementary work. At the same time the hope was expressed that pupils, in their desire to gain a merit certificate, would be induced to remain at school longer than required by the law. The reception of this scheme is best attested by the number of certificates issued; no fewer than 2,346 merit certificates were granted in the first year.²

We have now traced the development of the state-aided school to the point where, by means of specific subjects, it was giving higher instruction capable of being tested on the same plane as that given in higher class schools. It is not to be supposed, however, that all state-aided schools had reached this standard. In 1892, very little more than one-half of the state-aided schools in Scotland³ were presenting pupils for examination in specific subjects, and of these only sixty-three presented candidates from their higher departments for the leaving certificate examination. We have seen, too, that a goal, a little beyond the minimum requirements of the law, had been fixed for the pupils of the elementary school. Before many years had passed the

¹ Class subjects included English, Geography, History, Needlework (for girls), and Elementary Science.

² The merit certificate presents several points of similarity to the French *Certificat d'études primaires*, which was legalized in 1882. Candidates must be over eleven years of age and the examination is conducted by a local *Commission d'examen* composed of the Inspector of primary schools for the district, several head teachers of primary schools, and two or more local representatives as lawyers, doctors, &c. The syllabus of the examination, which is partly written and partly oral, includes (1) a Dictation test, (2) Arithmetic, (3) a composition on one of the following: (a) Moral and Civil Duty, (b) History and Geography, (c) Elementary Science; (4) Needlework (girls), or Agriculture or Drawing (boys), (5) Reading and Recitation. 'The French Leaving Certificate,' *Education Department Special Reports*, vol. ii, pp. 634-6.

³ 1,695 out of a total of 3,105. *Education Report* (1891-2), p. xix.

expansion of higher education in state-aided schools necessitated further adjustments and a more definite organization of their higher teaching; but an account of these we reserve for another section.

3. THE UNIVERSITY

After the first and great reform Act of 1858, no further legislation followed for thirty years. Meanwhile, a Royal Commission, which had been appointed in 1876 to inquire into the state of the Universities, reported two years later; but its recommendations, many of which were highly important, were practically unproductive of any definite result. However, by the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889, a permanent Committee of the Privy Council on Scottish Universities was erected, and a temporary executive Commission, which continued to meet until 1897, was appointed to issue Ordinances regarding the administration of the Universities,¹ and it is with these Ordinances, in so far as they affected secondary education, that we are immediately concerned.

In considering the question of transference from the school to the University, the Commissioners were confronted with the same problems, though not quite so exaggerated, as obtained in 1858. On the one hand, there was a reiteration of the complaint regarding the junior classes in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, coupled with a demand that they should be abolished and a common entrance examination established; on the other, a strong feeling existed that the junior classes were necessary to maintain the traditional connexion between the parish school (now state-aided) and the University. The argument on the one side was that the University was encroaching upon the secondary school, in fact doing the work of a secondary school, and in consequence that its standard of work was lowered; on the other, that the expense of attending a secondary school at a distance—the country, as we have seen, was still largely deficient in secondary schools, and no universal system of bursaries had been established—in order to prepare for the

¹ These Ordinances were subject to the veto of the Queen-in-Council.

University would be beyond the means of many promising pupils, who would thus be cut off from their one opportunity of advancement in life.

The Commissioners effected a compromise. The normal duration of the Arts course was fixed at three years and a common entrance examination—‘the preliminary examination’—was established.¹ The junior classes, however, were retained; but the University was given the option of discontinuing them when the country was sufficiently provided with secondary schools. In the preliminary Arts examination, candidates were required to pass in four subjects, and might do so at one examination; otherwise, if in any examination they were successful in one or more subjects, they were required to pass in the remaining subjects at one and the same examination.² The old ‘University subjects’—Latin, Greek, and Mathematics—were distinguished by having two standards or grades—a higher and a lower. Different combinations of passes both in subjects and grades were required for entrance into different Faculties.³ To regulate and conduct the preliminary examination a Joint Board of Examiners was established which was to consist ‘not of Professors only, but partly of Professors and Lecturers and partly of additional Examiners to be appointed by the University Courts’.⁴ Powers were given to the Joint Board to accept successes in the leaving certificate examination in lieu of successes in the corresponding subjects in the preliminary examination, provided that it was satisfied that the standard of examination was not lower than that required by the Ordinances.

¹ The following were the requirements for the preliminary examinations :

(a) Arts: English, Latin or Greek, Mathematics, and one of the following: Latin or Greek (if not already taken), French, German, Italian, and Dynamics.

(b) Science: French or German could be substituted for Latin or Greek.

(c) Medicine: English, Latin, Elementary Mathematics, Greek or French or German.

² This examination might be repeated as often as necessary.

³ Thus for Arts no student could take a graduating class in any language unless he had passed the preliminary examination in it on the higher standard. For Science a student had to pass Mathematics on the higher standard, &c.

⁴ *University Commission Report* (1900), p. xiii.

Thus from 1892 onwards, entrance to the University might be gained by passing in the necessary subjects in either the preliminary examination or the leaving certificate examination; and it would seem that the State had given its imprimatur to two examinations whose functions overlapped. No doubt to some extent they did, for by this time all schools which made any pretence to giving higher instruction were admitted to the leaving certificate examination. But, since the entrance to the University depended not upon the satisfactory completion of a carefully planned course of study, but upon the attainment, in specified subjects, of a standard of knowledge as shown by the results of certain examinations, it was of little importance how many such examinations there were. At all events, it was no disadvantage to the candidates to multiply the number of avenues to the University.

In one respect there was a real grievance. The Commissioners in 1892 laid down the lines upon which the competition for University entrance bursaries had to proceed. And, as no account was taken of the leaving certificate examination, the consequence was that a student, who had gained the requisite number of successes in this examination, if desirous of competing for a bursary, had in general to take a further examination prescribed by the particular University which he proposed to enter. Although this seemed an unnecessary multiplication of examinations, it has persisted to the present day. Partly from its democratic character—the competitors being drawn from all ranks—and partly from tradition, the bursary competition has for many years strongly influenced the curriculum of the secondary school. It will, therefore, be necessary to consider, though briefly, the main points in its history.

As early as 1830 the Commissioners appointed to visit the Universities and Colleges of Scotland had called attention to certain abuses in the bursary system, the chief of which were the great number of bursaries, principally in Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and the method by which they were bestowed. In King's College there was about one bursary

to every third student, at Marischal's a slightly greater proportion, and at St. Andrews nearly one for every fourth student.¹ In consequence, many had been attracted to the University who had no 'natural turn for any of the learned professions', and, finding themselves disqualified for other professions, had turned to the Church, with distressing results. The Commissioners pointed out that the natural tendency of such a system would be to lower the standard of teaching in the University to suit the wants of the weaker students—a conclusion which was endorsed by subsequent Commissions—and recommended that a smaller number of bursaries be instituted with larger allowances. They also urged that bursaries should be 'bestowed as the reward of merit, and after public examination or free competition'.²

Although the recommendations of this Commission, as we have seen, were not carried into effect, they helped to focus attention upon the weaknesses of the bursary system. When Commissioners under the Act of 1858 were appointed, one of their duties was to revise the bursaries and regulate those which had taken effect for more than fifty years 'if it should appear to them that the interests of religion and learning, and the main design of the donor, so far as consistent with the promotion of such interests, might be better advanced thereby'.³ It appears, from the report of the Commissioners (1863), that most of the bursaries were tenable in Arts and were divided into two classes—competition bursaries awarded on the result of an open competition, and presentation bursaries in the gift of private persons or corporations.⁴ The main source of weakness lay in the latter group, for, whatever were the attainments of students with presentation bursaries—and some were very low—Professors found the task of rejection so invidious that they seldom resorted to it. On the other hand, the Commissioners were not prepared to abolish such bursaries and

¹ In King's College, 134; Marischal College, 106; United Colleges of St. Andrews, 55. *University Commission Report* (1830), p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77. ³ *Report of University Commission* (1863), p. xxxvii.

⁴ Intermediate between these two classes are the bursaries restricted to certain localities, such as those founded by county associations.

adopt a uniform system of open competition. The interests of two classes of students seemed to them to deserve consideration: those who came from country schools—and some of these were frequently the most deserving—where the lack of opportunity of gaining instruction would have placed them at a considerable disadvantage in an open competition; and those of comparatively moderate talent or of slower development, who would be at an equal disadvantage in a uniform system of open competition. In consequence, in regulating the bursaries in Aberdeen, for instance, the Commissioners arranged that there should be about an equal number of competition and presentation bursaries. The general principle on which they proceeded was to diminish the number and increase the value, always 'with a due regard to the main objects proposed by the founders'.¹ In some of the Universities, through the liberality of private persons or the accumulations existing on bursary foundations, they were able to establish a certain number of 'pecuniary rewards attainable by distinguished graduates in Arts' under the name of 'Scholarships'.

The University Commissioners of 1876 gave some interesting particulars regarding the influence of the bursary competition upon secondary education. In their opinion it would be impossible 'to over-estimate the value of competition bursaries in the Faculty of Arts, as an incentive to the schools to send up their pupils to the University in an advanced state of preparation, and as an effectual means of securing a high standard of attainment among the students entering the University'.² And as an example they instanced the University of Aberdeen, where, owing to the large number

¹ In Aberdeen the number of bursaries had increased even beyond the excessive number condemned in 1830, due to 'an illegal practice of multiplying bursaries on different foundations without authority'. In Edinburgh and Glasgow the bursaries were not numerous, and in many cases the values, although nominally the same as when founded, had, by the depreciation of money, come to be very small. *Report of University Commission* (1863), p. xxxviii et seq.

² *Report of University Commission* (1878), p. 107.

of bursaries, the system was strongest and most effective,¹ and quoted some statistics, relating to Glasgow University, which showed that, as a rule, bursars appointed by individual patrons, or by public bodies, were distinctly below the average in point of merit.² To remedy this the Commissioners proposed what really amounted to an entrance examination. As for the competition bursaries, they recommended the institution of a uniform examination on the lines of the bursary competition examination which obtained in Aberdeen at that time.³

These recommendations were allowed to lie fallow until the Commissioners under the Act of 1889 issued an Ordinance on the regulation of bursaries, scholarships, and fellowships (1895), by which most of the abuses, enumerated above, were removed.⁴ Discretionary power was given to the *Senatus Academicus* to suspend or deprive any bursar who failed to prosecute his studies satisfactorily; candidates for bursaries not awarded by open competition had to pass the

¹ Forty competition bursaries were awarded annually. Usually from 250 to 300 competed, and about 100 entered the University each year.

The Principal of Aberdeen University is quoted as saying: 'A Professor who has to teach Latin or Greek in the University of Aberdeen is much surer of his ground with the young men than a Professor elsewhere. I was surprised at the work that I could get out of some of these boys; and I found it was all produced by this, that they had been accustomed to work with the bursary competition in view.' *Report of University Commission* (1878), p. 108.

[Principal Campbell was a student of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and for some years Professor of Greek in King's College, Aberdeen.]

Probably the Dick and Milne bequests, as the Commissioners point out, had much to do with the high standard shown by the students.

² Compiled by Professor Ramsay of Glasgow with reference to the years 1860-70.

³ This examination consisted of compulsory and optional subjects.

The compulsory were: Translation of Latin and Greek prose, with grammatical questions; English grammar; Arithmetic as far as fractions and proportion; and the first book of Euclid. The total marks obtainable were 600.

In addition, the candidate had to take one of the following optional subjects: (a) Translation of English prose into Latin (the so-called version); (b) Algebra and Geometry; or any two of the following: Higher Latin, Higher Greek, English Composition, French, German, Chemistry, Zoology. The total marks obtainable were 400. *Report of University Commission* (1878), p. 114.

⁴ Ordinance 57.

preliminary examination in Arts,¹ and, where a patron failed to appoint a bursar in due time, the bursary was to be thrown open to competition. Bursaries of less than £10 a year were combined to form larger bursaries, and those which seemed to be serving no very useful purpose went to found scholarships—a much-needed form of endowment in the Universities. A uniform examination for open competition bursaries in Arts of the first year, with the subjects and the papers the same as for the preliminary examination, was instituted, each University to conduct its own examination and allocate its own bursaries. Five subjects could be selected by a candidate, but the marks assigned to each of the subjects of English, Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, were fixed at double the number given for any one of the other subjects.²

The Commissioners thought it necessary to give reasons for what in practice appeared as a preferential treatment of Classics as against Modern Languages, and founded their argument on precedent and the comparison of intellectual effort involved. At the time when the bursaries were created, they said, Modern Languages formed no part of the Arts course, nor were they included in such competitive examinations for the entrance bursaries as then existed. Even where, as at Aberdeen, French and German had been allowed as optional subjects, they were seldom chosen by candidates. Consequently, students of French and German were not deprived of any right which they had hitherto enjoyed, but were given a new privilege 'subject to a condition which would prevent their acquiring an unfair advantage over others'. Further, the Commissioners proceeded to show that the time occupied in acquiring a knowledge of Latin and Greek up to the standard of the higher grade of the leaving certificate examination was twice or thrice the time required to reach the same standard in French or

¹ Under certain conditions a little latitude was allowed as to when this might be done.

² Additional papers may be set in any subject at the discretion of the University.

German. 'In other words, the intellectual energy expended by the classical student was at least three times as great as that expended by the student of Modern Languages who attained the corresponding result.' Much more was this the case if a candidate prosecuted his studies abroad, where five or six months' study of French or German corresponded to three or four years' study of Latin or Greek at home. Thus Modern Languages would tend to displace Classics, and the result would be a 'fatal blow to Classical education in Scotland'. At the same time, a hardship would be inflicted upon students of narrow means, for whom the bursaries were primarily instituted, since a competitor in better circumstances, by spending a few months abroad, would enter the competition with an advantage over his less fortunate rivals.¹

The logic of these arguments failed to appeal to many at the time. Nevertheless, the system was put into operation, and, although there are indications that it is about to be modified, if not discarded, it has continued down to the present (1909).

¹ *University Commission Report* (1888), pp. xxix-xxxii.

CHAPTER XIV

STATE AID

IN this chapter we propose to give a brief account of the origin and development of State aid to secondary education. Although certain grants had been available for the teaching of Science and Art under the regulations of the Science and Art Department, and others again for state-aided schools under the name of specific subjects, no Parliamentary grant was made unreservedly to secondary education until 1892. The strange thing was that, in addition to giving grants to elementary schools, the State had also subsidized the Universities, and in 1889 had definitely assigned them an annual grant of £42,000.¹ With such a precedent it was scarcely possible to overlook the claims of the secondary school, and three years later the long-expected assistance was given.

Meanwhile it is well to note that the Committee of Inquiry, to which reference has already been made, in its report in 1888, had strongly recommended that State aid should be given to secondary education, but contingent on adequate local contributions, and, in the case of higher class schools, on the reservation of a certain number of free places for competition among children from public elementary schools.² Thus the principle that State aid should be coupled with local effort and extended educational facilities was definitely stated; and, as the sequel will show, this principle has, in general, been the basis on which the grants have been distributed. A further recommendation, to the effect that school districts sending scholars to a higher-class public school should contribute proportionately to any rate necessary for its support, and should be represented in the

¹ This was increased by £30,000 in 1892. *Universities (Scot.) Act, 1889, and Education and Local Taxation Account (Scot.) Act, 1892.*

² *Committee of Inquiry, Third Report, p. xx.*

management, calculated as it was to remove the feeling of injustice under which the burghs laboured in having to bear an expenditure which legitimately should have fallen on a wider area, was found impracticable without reconstituting the local authority and extending the area of its administration. Many held the opinion that a reconstitution of this kind was the best solution of the problem ; others, and the majority, clung to the traditional parish administration of education. While Parliament has fought shy of extending the area of local educational administration in general,¹ the principle has been partially adopted with regard to the administration and distribution of grants for secondary education.

The four grants which have direct reference to secondary education are the Science and Art grant, the Equivalent grant, the Residue grant, and the grant for Secondary and Technical Education ; and, as the origin and administration of each of these differ somewhat, it will be necessary to consider them separately.

I. THE SCIENCE AND ART GRANT²

Although for some years previous to 1853 certain grants had been given by the Government in support of schools of design, the practice of subsidizing the teaching of Science and Art, as an aid to local effort, may be said to have originated in that year. In the preceding year, as an indirect outcome of the Exhibition of 1851, a Department of Practical Art had been established under the Board of Trade, and to this was now added a similar Department of Science. In 1856, the Science and Art Department, thus constituted, was transferred from the Board of Trade to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, and thereafter located at South Kensington. It was not until 1859, however, that a general system of grants applicable to the whole kingdom

¹ Notably in respect of Lord Balfour's Bill in 1902, which proposed to extend the area for *elementary* as well as secondary education.

² The main facts in this section have been taken from the *Calendar and History of the Department of Science and Art*,

was instituted. Experimental schools were established by special Minutes adapted to the circumstances of each case after negotiation with the locality. The arrangements generally were that the teachers should receive certain certificate allowances from the Science and Art Department, and that their incomes from fees, subscriptions, &c., should be guaranteed by this Department for a certain number of years at amounts which varied in different cases. The management of these experimental schools was entrusted to local committees approved by the Science and Art Department, but their functions were mainly nominal. Nor did the Science and Art Department, which was largely a grant-paying and an examining body, ever attempt to exercise much influence locally. Grants were paid according to certain regulations and were essentially payments by results—a practice which was subsequently adopted in subsidizing elementary education. The first science school in Scotland was opened at Aberdeen in 1859.

In course of time the system extended to other schools in the country, and many higher class schools took advantage of the opportunity of eking out a scanty income by presenting pupils for examination in the various branches of Science and Art outlined in the syllabuses of the Directory of the Science and Art Department. But the system did not lend itself to the development of Science and Art teaching upon sound educational lines; the curriculum of the school was not taken into account, neither was there proper regard paid to practical or experimental methods of instruction, and 'it may be suspected that the need to earn a grant was sometimes the main motive for the study of Science, and the grant earned the most tangible result'.¹

However, in 1872, in order to encourage a more methodical system of teaching Science and Art, day schools, organized in such a way as to give graded courses of instruction according to schemes proposed by the Science and Art Department, were offered, in addition to the usual payments on examination results, a capitation grant calculated on the

¹ *Education Department Memo.* (1904), p. 11.

attendance. Thus a system of 'organized science schools' was established. While this had an excellent effect, so far as the teaching of Science was concerned, it still left out of account the general course of education in the school. The desire to increase the amount of grant which might be earned by individual successes in Science led to the neglect of the literary and humanistic elements of the curriculum. Accordingly, in 1892, it was stipulated that an organized science school should include in its curriculum a 'due amount of literary instruction'. By this time there had been established in Scotland five organized science schools—of which the principal were Allan Glen's School, Glasgow, and Gordon's College, Aberdeen—receiving a total of more than £4,000 in annual grants from the Science and Art Department, as well as a large number of other schools, including many higher class schools, receiving in the aggregate considerably more than £20,000 a year from the same source.

Three years later the regulations regarding organized science schools were again revised. In the first place, the payments on individual results were reduced and a variable grant, based upon the report of the Inspector, was added; in the next, the curriculum was modified so that instruction in literary and commercial subjects and manual instruction became an integral part of the regular work. During the next few years the number of organized science schools and schools in which certain selected subjects of Science and Art were taught gradually increased until, by a Minute issued in 1897, the administration of Science and Art grants in Scotland was transferred from the Science and Art Department to the Scotch Education Department. For a short time no change was made upon the existing system; but, in 1900, by which year the grants for Science and Art in Scotland amounted to considerably over £60,000, important modifications were introduced into the method of distributing the grant which will require consideration later.¹

¹ In 1899-1900 the Science and Art grant amounted to £67,392, distributed as follows: Schools under the Code, £28,163; Training Colleges, £2,557; thirteen Schools of Science (10 Higher Class Schools, and 3

2. THE 'EQUIVALENT' GRANT¹

By the Education and Local Taxation Account Act of 1892, a sum of sixty thousand pounds was transferred to the Department in aid of the cost of secondary education in Scotland, and in particular for the following purposes: defraying the cost of inspection of higher class schools in Scotland and of holding examinations for, and granting the leaving certificates of the Department; and making provision for secondary education, under Minutes of the Department submitted to Parliament, in urban and rural districts. It was foreseen that in the distribution of this money it might be advantageous to give grants to higher class public schools on condition that a certain number of scholars should be admitted free, or that the school fees should be reduced. But, by the Act of 1872, the right of fixing the fees lay with the teachers, whose remuneration was mainly derived from them, and consequently the personal interests involved might be antagonistic to the spirit of the new Act. A clause was therefore inserted by which full control over the fees was given to the Managers of such schools provided that teachers appointed before the passing of the new Act, having a vested right in the fees, should be entitled to receive compensation in respect of any loss they might sustain.

This grant has been the means of introducing an important modification in the machinery of educational administration in Scotland. The principle of dual control—central authority and representative local authorities—which, as we have seen, was the principle adopted by the Act of 1872, would

Secondary Departments of Code Schools), £8,309; Science and Art Classes in 35 Higher Class Schools, £2,888; other Science and Art Classes (216 Institutions), £25,475. *Education Report* (1899-1900), p. 32.

¹ By the Elementary Education Act (1891) for England and Wales a 'fee grant' had been given by Parliament, and Scotland was entitled to an 'equivalent grant' from the same source; but since the latter had already, by the Local Government (Scot.) Act, applied a part of the proceeds of her share of certain probate and licence duties to the relief of fees—whereas England and Wales had applied their shares to the relief of local taxation—this portion of the Scottish share was now set free to be dealt with under the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scot.) Act, 1892. Graham, *Manual of Education Acts*, p. 129.

naturally suggest itself when the method of administering and distributing such a large sum of money was under consideration. But several objections could be urged against utilizing the existing local authorities, the School Boards. In the first place they had not the control of the whole of the secondary education even in their own administrative areas : since in the larger burghs, for example, many important schools, particularly those founded upon endowments, were managed quite apart from them. And next, the area from which a secondary school drew its pupils did not necessarily coincide with the educational area for which the School Board was elected. If the interests, therefore, of the whole of the secondary schools were to be conserved and their work effectively co-ordinated, and if the relations between the secondary schools and their respective constituencies were to be equitably adjusted, it was clear that independent local authorities, intermediate, it might be, between the Department and the School Boards, would have to be created.

This principle was adopted by the Department in its Minute dated August 11, 1892, in which a scheme involving the creation of Secondary Education Committees for the counties and the larger burghs was outlined for the consideration of Parliament. The two main functions of these Committees, as thus proposed, were to take cognizance of the whole requirements of secondary education in their districts, and to recommend schools for grants. To the Department were to be assigned the duties of allocating the grants, partly in accordance with the work done and partly on a capitation basis, of deciding as to the efficiency of the school both in equipment and staff, and of approving the curriculum. In particular the Minute laid stress upon two principles: the necessity of local contributions and the extension of the benefits of secondary education to wider constituencies. The proposals of the Department met with immediate and strong opposition. It was said 'that too much power was given to the Department and too little to the localities', and in consequence an amended Minute, which

considerably curtailed the power of the former in allocating the grants, was issued in May 1893.¹

Under the new proposals the grant was to be distributed by the Department among the Secondary Education Committees² in proportion to the population of the various districts. Each Committee, having in view the requirements of the locality, and with due regard both to educational efficiency and the extension of secondary education to the largest number, had to prepare a scheme for the distribution of the sum allotted and submit it for the approval of the Department. Thus the amended Minute, in regard to the allocation of the grant, gave prominence, not so much to educational needs and the exceptional requirements of thinly-populated districts, as to the population itself—a fallacious basis to take, and one which gave a wholly inadequate sum to districts which needed assistance most.³ In the next place, too much liberty was allowed to the local authority without taking effective precautions that local developments would be co-ordinated with those of wider and national import. No doubt local requirements are best understood by local authorities, but there are certain limits—and the definition of these limits is by no means settled—within which the power of the local authority must be confined if local interests are not to take precedence of national. The

¹ The *Scotsman* of September 15, 1898, reported an interesting speech by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, then Secretary for Scotland, in which, *inter alia*, the history of the issue of this Minute is recorded.

² In all, thirty-nine Committees, consisting of thirty-three County Committees, five Burgh Committees—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Leith—and a Parish Committee, Govan.

Each County Committee was composed of (a) a certain number elected by the County Council, (b) an equal number elected by the chairmen of the School Boards of all the parishes and burghs in the County (excepting the five burghs above-mentioned), (c) one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

Each Burgh Committee consisted of (a) three elected by the Town Council, (b) three elected by the School Board, (c) either two or three representing other educational interests in the burgh, (d) one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. The constitution of the Parish Committee of Govan, though somewhat different in detail, was the same in principle.

³ On this basis, out of a total grant of £57,000, Kinross received £90; Peebles, £207; Sutherland, £297; Ayr, £3,190; Lanark (excluding Glasgow City and Govan), £5,205. *Education Report* (1892-3), p. 153.

later history of this grant is not only a record of the adjustment of the relations between the larger interests, as represented by the Department, and the lesser, as represented by the County Committees, but also an instructive commentary upon the unwisdom of over-devolution in matters of educational administration. On the other hand, while the powers of the central authority were curtailed in respect of the administration of the grant, they were not limited in other respects. The decision as to the suitability of the buildings, furniture, and apparatus, the adequacy of the staff, the efficiency of the school, as well as the approval of the curriculum, still rested absolutely with the Department, from whom a satisfactory certificate had to be obtained before any grant could be paid. Consequently, as practically every higher class school in Scotland, either then or subsequently, accepted the conditions under which the grant was administered, to all intents and purposes they came under the control of the Department.

From the first, fears had been expressed that the grant would be dissipated over a large number of schools instead of being concentrated upon recognized secondary schools or upon definite lines of development, and these fears were abundantly realized. No uniform method prevailed. Adequate and inadequate provisions for higher education were often equally rewarded. In general, local effort was neither directly recognized nor encouraged. Although the Department resisted any division which did not fulfil distinct educational conditions, it was practically impossible to insist upon any uniform scheme for the whole of the country, or to make such modifications in the schemes submitted as to promote effectively the higher education in each county. As a rule, the distribution by the Committees followed four lines: subsidies to higher class schools; subsidies to higher departments of state-aided schools; bursaries; and capitation grants, allowed sometimes on the average attendance of scholars who had passed beyond

standard work and sometimes on the number who had passed certain definite tests, such as the leaving certificate or the merit certificate examinations.¹ When, on the ground that the grant had been primarily intended for secondary schools, exception was taken to the subsidizing of state-aided schools, the Department did not hesitate to state that 'it must not be forgotten that such higher education as was given in the state-aided schools was all that was open to a large number of the children, and that the inclusion of some such education in the curriculum was a traditional feature of Scottish schools'.²

The first change in the amended Minute was made in the following year (1894). The allocation of the grant on the basis of population had given a few of the Committees sums quite inadequate for purposes of secondary education. Accordingly, a minimum sum of £200 for each Committee was made a first charge upon the grant, and, if the Committees were so disposed, these amounts could be assigned for the support of any higher class school or schools in their districts. As the tendency to dissipate the grant still continued, the Department, by refusing to give a certificate of efficiency and adequacy of curriculum to certain schools in which the secondary education given was trifling in amount, had excluded them from sharing in the grant. But even this did not prevent some of the Committees from frittering away the grant in small payments over a large number of schools. However, a Minute issued in 1897 restricted the allocation of the grant to certain definite purposes. The Committees were instructed to set apart the £200, already referred to, for higher class schools, to cease giving direct subsidies to any schools other than recognized higher class schools or secondary departments inspected by the Department,³ and to discontinue other payments, which were

¹ *Education Report* (1893-4), p. xxix.

² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

³ A direct subsidy to a secondary department was not in general to exceed £100. *Minute*, dated June 10, 1896, Section 10 (b).

particularized, to schools whose primary object was elementary rather than secondary.¹ With slight alterations, this Minute remained in force until the Education Act of 1908.

3. THE 'RESIDUE' GRANT

In 1887, the Technical Schools (Scotland) Act was passed to facilitate the establishment of technical schools in Scotland, and powers were given to School Boards, under certain conditions, to provide and maintain schools of this type. But the School Boards showed considerable hesitation in availing themselves of the provisions of the Act. Not that they disregarded the claims of technical education, but rather that they were in doubt as to the proper aims and methods of such instruction, and as to the proper position it ought to occupy in the sphere of higher education generally.² However, in 1890, the Local Taxation (Custom and Excise) Act made provision that, after certain sums of the share of the local taxation duties which fell to Scotland had been allocated for specified purposes, the 'residue' should be distributed among the various local authorities, to be applied to the relief of local rates or for the purpose of 'technical education within the meaning of the Act of 1887'. At once a difficulty arose as to the proper interpretation of these words, and, accordingly, in 1892, a further Act was passed to 'explain and amend' the Act of 1890 and to define more precisely the limits of technical education.³

Although the School Boards had not availed themselves of the Technical Schools Act, many of the Burgh and County Councils were not slow to vote the Residue grant in aid of technical education. In 1893 it was reported that more than two-thirds of the County Councils and rather more than one-third of the Burgh Councils had given the whole of this grant for technical instruction purposes. As some

¹ Of the £56,000 available for distribution, about one-third was assigned as direct subsidies to higher class schools, a slightly larger amount to secondary education in state-aided schools, and the remainder mainly in bursaries and capitation grants. *Education Report* (1896-7), p. xxviii.

² *Education Report* (1890-1), p. xxxi.

³ The Technical Instruction Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1892.

secondary and state-aided schools, on the score of teaching Science and Art subjects, laid claim to a share in the Residue grant, the result was, so far as these schools were concerned, the introduction of another 'local authority'. Thus the Secondary Education Committees administered the Equivalent grant, and the Burgh and County Councils the Residue grant, and overlapping and waste of effort and resources, not to speak of the ill effects upon the organization of secondary education generally, were the natural consequences.

To remedy matters, a Minute was issued in 1896 with the object of unifying the administration of these two grants. Power was given to any Burgh or County Council, if so disposed, to hand over the Residue grant, in whole or in part, to the relative Secondary Education Committee, and in return the Council was to receive proportionate representation on it. This proposal met with immediate, but, unfortunately, not complete, response; in the following year forty-one local authorities entrusted an aggregate sum of £4,600 to eighteen County Committees, on which they became represented by fifty additional members.¹

4. THE SECONDARY OR TECHNICAL EDUCATION GRANT

Under the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account Act of 1898, a sum of money² became available for secondary or technical (including agricultural) education in Scotland, and it was decided that it should be devoted largely to higher class schools. Notwithstanding that the higher class schools had received considerable assistance from the Equivalent grant, there was a feeling that they had not benefited to the extent to which they were entitled according to the spirit of the Act under which the grant had been given. This in itself was a good enough reason, for the state-aided school had resources which were not at the command of

¹ *Education Report* (1896-7), p. xxviii. For the year (1900-1) these figures had increased to forty-four local authorities and to £15,000 as the aggregate sum handed over. *Ibid.* (1900-1), p. 26.

² In 1900 the amount was £37,000.

the higher class school. But there was another reason. 'The claims of scientific teaching as a part of secondary education were rapidly advancing, and the provision of adequate apparatus for such teaching, and the employment of a sufficient staff of specially qualified teachers, imposed burdens which could hardly be met by local effort alone.'¹

By the Act the administration of this balance devolved upon the Department, and, accordingly, a Minute providing for its distribution was issued the following year.² The sum of £2,000 was set apart as a further sum towards the cost of the inspection of higher class schools and the leaving certificate examinations, an equal sum was assigned for the encouragement of agricultural education, while the remainder was to be distributed in aid of such higher class secondary or technical schools as were not in receipt of grants under the Code. As a prerequisite to participating in the grant, such schools had to satisfy the Department that they were necessary and sufficient for the educational needs of the district; that they were in receipt of an adequate contribution from local sources; and that they were efficient. All applications had to be made through the Burgh and County Committees, to whom the opportunity was presented of making any observations and recommendations for the consideration of the Department which they thought fit. With each application a statement had to be filed, showing the manner in which, without diminishing the contributions to the school fund from rates or endowments, it was proposed to expend any grants which might be made. In allocating the grant the principle proposed in the rejected Minute of 1892 was followed: a fixed sum was given to each school, and to this was added an amount which varied with the average attendance and—in the case of higher class public schools—with the proportion which the expenditure upon the school from the rates bore to the valuation of the district. Practically all the higher class schools in the country came to share in this grant.

Thus, within a few years, the attitude of the State to

¹ *Education Report* (1898–99), p. 259.

² April 27, 1899.

the secondary school had completely changed. Including the Science and Art grant, but excluding the grant for specific subjects, a sum of money amounting to about £200,000 was available for subsidizing secondary education. The higher class public school, the descendant of the ancient burgh or grammar school, in proportion as its resources were the least, derived the greatest benefit from the altered circumstances. Increased staff, better equipment, extended curriculum, and the opening of its doors to a wider circle of pupils were some of the immediate results.¹ On the other hand, in respect of the school premises, these schools as a whole still compared unfavourably with the state-aided school. Some School Boards took a high view of their duties; while others, from the fear that the local ratepayers might consider it to be not a matter for the community as a whole, but for one class only, showed a timidity in improving the buildings at the expense of the rates.² But the tangible assistance given by the State infused new life into the higher class public school, and before many years had passed great improvements in buildings and equipment were visible, and evidence of increasing vigour became apparent.

Looking at bare statistics we find that, notwithstanding the dissipation of a large part of the Equivalent grant, a great impulse had been given to secondary education. The number of higher class schools entering for the leaving certificate examination had increased from 52 to 76; while the number of candidates had increased from 3,420 to 5,022. Of the state-aided schools the number entering for the leaving certificate examination had increased from 63 to 322; while the corresponding number of candidates had risen from 1,755 to 11,240. During the same period the number of pupils examined in specific subjects had risen from 45,586 to 50,864; while the number who had passed in three subjects had increased from 3,859 to 5,086. And these great advances had been made in the short period of six years extending from 1892 to 1898.³

¹ *Education Report* (1893-4), p. 136.

² *Ibid.* (1899-1900), pp. 295-6.

³ *Ibid.* (1892-3) and (1898-9).

The diverse methods of administering the four grants, however, could hardly be looked upon as satisfactory. Two were directly controlled by the Department; a third was managed by the Burgh and County Committees, but subject to the approval of the Department; while the fourth was distributed in part by Burgh and County Councils and in part by Burgh and County Committees, and to a large extent independently of the Department. While there may have been differences of opinion as to who should be responsible for the administration of the Parliamentary grant, the central authority or the local authority, there could be no doubt as to the unwisdom of the system which had grown up. Not only was there a waste of effort, and in consequence a steady leakage of funds which should have been devoted directly to purposes of secondary education, but it was practically impossible to avoid overlapping. An effort had been made in 1896 to combine the administration of the Residue and Equivalent grants, but only with partial success. The amalgamation of the four grants under one administration was the commonsense plan, and, as the sequel shows, the one which ultimately commended itself to the Government.

The establishment of State aid for secondary education brought in its train one or two important consequences which are likely to have a permanent influence upon the future development of education in Scotland. In the first place, a new factor, the Secondary Education Committee, was introduced into the administration, with the ostensible purpose of obviating the defects of over-parochialism and of conserving the national instinct for local administration. But it was one thing to bring the Committee into existence and another to define its functions. The original proposal—the Department, as representing national interests, to administer the grant; the Committees, as representing local interests, to suggest and advise—seemed, on the face of it, a division of authority well calculated to give effective expression to constitutional principles of check and balance. But the Secondary Education Committees resented this

limitation of their powers, and their successful opposition resulted in the temporary rejection of national interests in favour of local. In consequence, subsequent legislation lay in the direction of restricting the powers of the Committees or in compelling them to adopt a more or less uniform system in their distribution of the grant. In the sequel their functions were practically reduced to those in the original proposal. While the extension of power conceded to the Committees in the matter of the distribution of the grant had not proved a success, it cannot be said that they failed to justify their creation. Their intimate knowledge of local conditions, particularly with reference to the provision of secondary education for pupils in outlying districts, and their direct knowledge of local needs in the way of technical education, were precisely the points upon which a central authority required guidance. In these and other respects the Secondary Education Committees have filled a gap in the administration of education in the country, and have done, and give increased promise of doing, work of considerable value and importance to secondary education.

In the next place, as State assistance, in general, has been made contingent upon the extension of secondary education to a wider, though less well-to-do, constituency, it has in a measure tended to democratize the secondary school. Apart from the traditions of Scottish education, there are good and sufficient reasons for thus opening up the benefits of secondary education to able pupils in humble circumstances. Since every section of the community contributes, by direct or indirect taxation, to the Imperial Treasury, from which the State aid is drawn, it is only reasonable that all classes should participate in its application, and perhaps the simplest and most equitable plan is to grant a proportionate number of free places for those who are unable to pay secondary school fees. But more than this, intellectual power is a national asset which the State, in its own interests, ought to conserve irrespective of social distinctions. No one recognized this more clearly than John Knox when he proposed that all 'fund apt to letteris and learning' should

not be permitted to reject their studies, but should be allowed to continue them 'sa that the commonwealthe may have some comfort by them'. In general, too, the higher class school has benefited rather than suffered by the infusion of a vigorous intellectual strain drawn from the ranks of the industrial section of the community.

So far there has been no avowed attempt to extend Parliamentary assistance beyond these limits, but the principle of State aid to secondary education, when once applied, opens up possibilities of further extension the ultimate consequences of which would be far-reaching.

CHAPTER XV

THE SCOTCH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

THE period extending from 1898 to the passing of the Education Act of 1908 is distinguished by the great advances made in the organization of Scottish secondary education. The State, by definitely subsidizing secondary education, had assumed responsibilities which it was not slow to recognize. Among the many problems which remained unsettled, the more important had relation to the grading of schools in a national system, and the introduction of some measure of uniformity in secondary school instruction. As the State had shown no intention of creating a Central Board of Studies, the Department, directly controlling the state-aided school and indirectly the higher class school, gradually assumed, in addition to its administrative powers, the functions of such a Board. And it will be our purpose to show how it proceeded not only to grade secondary education and to create practically a new type of school, but also to evolve a broad curriculum which came to be accepted as a basis for higher studies by the majority, if not all, of the secondary schools in the country. Further, the relation of the primary school to the secondary school was given a definition which it had previously lacked, and the transference of pupils from the one school to the other was greatly simplified by the institution of a general and uniform bursary system. This series of progressive movements culminated in the consolidation of the several grants for secondary education under a uniform administration, and in a more or less equitable adjustment of the relations between the burghs and the surrounding districts as to the incidence of the cost of secondary education—a question which had sorely vexed the burghs for a long time.

Throughout these changes the Department was constantly

in evidence and displayed great skill in bringing into orderly sequence the various agencies which made any pretence to giving instruction beyond the elementary stage. Its control of the leaving certificate examination had brought it into intimate relations with the work of the higher class school, and its direct administration of two important secondary education grants had clinched them. We shall find, therefore, that these two levers, the Parliamentary grant and the leaving certificate examination, were applied both judiciously and effectively in remodelling and reorganizing Scottish secondary education during these ten years.

In 1898 two facts were clear: the higher class schools were not sufficiently numerous to provide for the whole of the secondary education of the country; and the scraps of secondary education provided by the state-aided school in the form of specific subjects were not a satisfactory substitute for an organized course of higher instruction. In general, the higher class school still followed the traditional course of study, and it was obviously impossible to link it on to the elementary course of the primary school and to make it compulsory upon all who desired higher education. Moreover, to have debarred the state-aided school from developing a higher course of its own would have disregarded all the cherished traditions of the old parish school of which it was the successor. The plan which seemed to show the greatest possibilities, especially as the Science and Art grant—by that time administered by the Department—was to a certain extent available for the state-aided school, was to leave higher class schools alone for the time, and to develop specialized courses in the state-aided school upon a common elementary or primary course. Where this was not possible it might be advisable to retain specific subjects—at least for a time—and to mould them into some form of curriculum.

Accordingly, the Department began with the state-aided school over which it had a fairly complete control. It was fully time that some effort should be made to organize the shreds of higher instruction given in this school. Although

the legal age at which a pupil might leave was thirteen, more than 60,000 pupils beyond this age were on the registers of state-aided schools, and of this number nearly 10 per cent. were over fifteen years of age.¹ The first step was taken in 1898, when the functions of the merit certificate, which had been primarily instituted to mark the completion of the elementary school course, were extended to include that of delimiting purely elementary instruction from higher or secondary instruction. To this end the age qualification was reduced to twelve, the regulation regarding specific subjects withdrawn, and the new requirements, defined in the broadest terms, were 'ability to read, write, speak, and understand plain English and to perform simple calculations'.² The next step was to organize the higher instruction, and this was accomplished in the following year by instituting 'advanced departments', and 'higher grade schools'. The former continued, under new conditions, the system of specific subjects; the latter was an entirely new creation. Both had some features in common. The qualification for entrance was the merit certificate; the instruction had to be given in accordance with a curriculum approved by the Department in which were included English, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Drawing; the grants—in part obtained from the Science and Art grant—were to be paid mainly upon the average attendance. As the advanced departments continued their existence for a few years only, we may omit further consideration of them: 'the best of them were, in effect, more or less satisfactory substitutes for high schools, and did good work on high school lines; the others gave at least a fragment of a high school education.'³

The higher grade school demands fuller consideration. As first conceived, its function was to provide certain specialized courses, of at least three years' duration beyond the merit certificate stage, for pupils whose intentions were to follow industrial or commercial occupations rather than professional. Hence, with due regard to a general education,

¹ *Education Report* (1898-9), p. x.

² *Scottish Education Department Memo.* (1904), p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

these courses were to be predominantly scientific or predominantly commercial, or courses specially suited to girls or to special classes of pupils.¹ In every case suitable apparatus and equipment and properly qualified teachers had to be provided. While, in the larger towns at least, it appears to have been the intention of the Department to encourage separate schools for these separate purposes, it was foreseen to be practically impossible to do so in the smaller towns or in the country districts, and consequently, under due safeguards, a higher grade school was permitted to organize two or more alternative courses.² As thus instituted, these higher grade schools presented many points of resemblance to the *école primaire supérieure*—the French higher grade school—which had been established eighteen or twenty years previously, and in which the education given was intended not to prepare pupils for professional occupations, but rather to fit them for industrial or commercial life. As in the higher grade school, the curriculum, after making due provision for a general education, laid stress upon Science, Drawing, Mathematics, and one Modern Language. The parallel extends a little further, for, just as the course of the French higher grade school was crowned by the *Certificat d'Études primaires supérieures*, so the Department promised a leaving certificate to those pupils who had satisfactorily completed a three (or four) years' curriculum.³ The higher grade school took root almost immediately and continued on this basis for about four years.⁴

¹ *Code*, 1899. A higher grade *science* course had to provide for the teaching of Mathematics, Experimental Science, and, as a rule, some form of Manual Work; a higher grade *commercial* course had to provide for one or more Modern Languages, Bookkeeping, Shorthand, and instruction in Commercial Products.

² This permission was largely taken advantage of. In the year 1901-2 out of the 35 higher grade schools then existing, 8 had at least three parallel courses, and 15 had two parallel courses. *Education Report* (1902-3), p. 655.

³ *Circular* 221, August 1898.

⁴ For the year ending August, 1902, there were 35 higher grade schools with an average attendance of 3,821; 374 advanced departments, average attendance, 8,322; the number of schools (other than higher grade), 3,097, average attendance, 642,844. *Education Report* (1902-3), p. 666.

Meanwhile, the Education (Scotland) Act of 1901, by raising the age of compulsory attendance at school from thirteen to fourteen, necessitated a reorganization of the state-aided school. Accordingly, in the Code of 1903, provision was made for a two years' course of specialized instruction, under the term 'supplementary courses',¹ for pupils who would leave at the age of fourteen or so, and, in harmony with this, the examination for the merit certificate was transferred to the end of these new courses—thus continuing to mark the termination of an elementary school career—and its former place was taken by the 'qualifying examination' which carried with it no certificate. The institution of these supplementary courses of specialized instruction cleared the way for taking a broader view of the function of a higher grade school. Hitherto, certain demands as to the minimum time which had to be given to the 'predominant' subjects had not squared with the traditions of Scottish education, and the opportunity was now taken of offering, in place of the former three years' courses of specialized instruction, a three years' *general* course beyond the qualifying examination stage. The range of subjects for this course was particularized as English, History, Geography, Mathematics (including Arithmetic), at least one language other than English, Science, and Drawing, and, as it will be necessary to refer to this group of subjects several times in the course of this chapter, it will be convenient to do so under the designation 'normal minimum'. No regulations were made regarding the time to be given to any of the subjects; but a well-graded scheme of instruction in each subject leading up to the relative leaving certificate examination had to be prepared and submitted to the Department for approval. The usual conditions regarding staff, accommodation, and equipment were laid down.² At the same time advanced departments were abolished and the

¹ Four courses were outlined in the *Code*: Commercial Course, Industrial Course, Rural Schools' Course, Household Management (girls') Course.

² For example, duly qualified teachers were to be provided at the rate of one for every 30 or fewer pupils on the roll.

option was given to the larger and better organized of them to take rank as higher grade schools ; the rest fell into the group taking supplementary courses. This three years' general course was a happy compromise, and in consequence was largely adopted. By providing for an education on broader lines it gave the higher grade school the opportunity of preparing its more capable pupils for the University, and thus conserved in the state-aided school the traditions of the old parish school.

Before examining the changes in the leaving certificate examination, we propose to trace the development of the higher class school down to 1905. This turns mainly upon the regulations for the distribution of the Science and Art grant, which, as we have seen, had undergone various modifications. So far as the grant had application to secondary schools, the tendency had been setting towards the fostering of the teaching of Science and Art as part of a broad general education, but the specific purpose of the grant had never been obscured. Soon after the administration of the Scottish share of this grant had devolved upon the Department, it was expressly stated that science sides or departments of secondary schools would not be refused recognition as 'Schools of Science',¹ provided that they were clearly separated from the classical or the language side of the school. The Department at that time preferred to regard the future Schools of Science 'as absolutely independent institutions, having their own premises, equipment, and staff'.² But the general trend of opinion in Scotland regarding the function of Science and Art in a secondary school curriculum was not in the direction of supporting this policy, and, during the next few years we have an interesting record of an eventual compromise by which a commonsense adjustment was made between realistic and humanistic studies.

By a Minute of August 24, 1900, the regulations regarding

¹ In 1897 the term 'School of Science' displaced the term 'Organized Science School'.

² *Circular* 231, October 1898.

the distribution of the Science and Art grant to higher class or similar schools, not in receipt of grant under the provisions of the Code, were revised. If the Department was satisfied that due provision was made for the instruction of the pupils in 'the other main branches of a general education', grants might be given upon a basis of average attendance for the teaching of Experimental Science, Drawing, and Manual Instruction according to approved schemes of instruction. Thus payments by individual results were finally abolished. At the same time the original character and purpose of the Science and Art grant, as one in aid of local effort, was conserved by a clause to the effect that the grant earned might be reduced by its excess over the income from local sources. As distinguished from the higher grade school, the qualifications for entry upon these courses of instruction were stated broadly, no reference being made to the merit certificate; pupils had simply to show attainments such as to satisfy the Department that they were fit to profit by the instruction. The Department, however, had to be satisfied as to the qualifications of the teachers and as to the proper laboratory accommodation and equipment.

In 1903, by which time forty-eight higher class schools had accepted the new scheme,¹ an amended Minute was issued in which certain of the conditions were relaxed somewhat. Under the original Minute, instruction in Experimental Science was made compulsory upon all pupils for whom grants were to be claimed; but this restriction was now removed and grants might be claimed for pupils receiving instruction in Drawing or Manual Work only, provided a reasonable number of them attended the classes in Experimental Science. Under the revised Minute the qualifications of pupils for enrolment had to be equivalent to those required for entering the higher grade school—in other words, the standard of attainment was to be the qualifying examination. By introducing this measure of elasticity, the Depart-

¹ Receiving in the aggregate almost £14,000 for that year. *Education Report* (1904-5), p. 1001.

ment shrewdly suspected 'that in time all higher class schools would embrace the terms of the Minute, so far at least as to make these subjects an integral part of their general curriculum in its earlier stages'. It was obvious in 1904,¹ if not before, that the Department had conceived the idea that the higher class school, however it might diverge from the higher grade school in its higher reaches, should adopt the 'normal minimum' as the basis of its curriculum for the first three years of its course, and thus co-operate in introducing a much-needed measure of uniformity into secondary education in Scotland.

Coming now to the leaving certificate examination—the common point of contact of the higher grade school and the higher class school—we find that in 1899 the Department implemented a promise made to the former in the preceding year by instituting an examination in Science²—mainly oral and practical—based upon the profession of work in each school. This examination has the distinction of being the first leaving certificate examination in Scotland in which the previous day-by-day work of the pupil was taken into account, and in which the teacher was directly associated with the examiner in assessing the value of the pupil's work.

At this time the leaving certificate examination still maintained its former character as an examination of individual subjects without reference to a curriculum. With one restriction,³ candidates could enter at any age and for any grade of any subject or subjects of the examination, and for every success a separate certificate was issued.⁴ While this could not be looked upon as a satisfactory or permanent arrangement, the obstacles in the way of establishing a

¹ In this year Mr. John Struthers (Dr. Struthers) succeeded Sir Henry Craik as Permanent Secretary.

² By this time, in addition to the six original subjects, leaving certificate examinations were held in Bookkeeping and Commercial Arithmetic, Dynamics, and two other branches of Mathematics—Geometrical Conics and Analytical Geometry.

³ No school could present candidates for Lower English and Lower Arithmetic only.

⁴ Nearly 24,000 were issued in 1900. *Education Report* (1899-1900), p. 299.

'curriculum' examination were apparently such as to prevent any definite advance in this direction until 1900, when the Department took the first step by issuing, as an experiment, a 'group' certificate. Two years later, a system of group certificates was definitely instituted and the issue of leaving certificates for individual subjects abolished. Two certificates were adopted—the leaving certificate and the intermediate certificate—the one to mark the completion of a full course of secondary instruction, the other primarily to meet the case of schools which were unable to retain their pupils to the leaving certificate stage. Certain combinations of subjects were particularized for each certificate,¹ and, while the individual examinations might still be taken in any order or in any year, it is important to note that age limits were fixed—fifteen and seventeen respectively—and that attendance at a school recognized and approved by the Department was one of the conditions upon which a certificate might be obtained. Further, this recognition and approval implied that the course of instruction had been adequate in range and quality, and that proper attention had been paid to those elements of the curriculum that did not admit of being fully tested by written papers. In the same year a leaving certificate examination in Drawing was instituted.² While every year showed a gradual increase in the number of group certificates issued,³ it was evident from

¹ For the leaving certificate : Four passes on the higher grade standard, or three on the higher and two on the lower ; Higher English and Higher or Lower Mathematics were compulsory ; the remaining subjects might be Science with one or more languages, or languages only. Where two or more languages other than English were taken, one had to be Latin.

For the intermediate certificate : Four passes, one at least on the higher standard ; English and Mathematics or Higher Arithmetic were compulsory ; the remaining subjects might be Science with one or more languages or languages only. Science on the lower grade standard included Drawing. *Circular* 340, January 1902.

² A pass in Drawing might be accepted for the leaving certificate in lieu of one of the two lower grade passes. *Ibid.*

³ In 1902 the issues were 364 leaving certificates and 607 intermediate certificates ; for 1905 the corresponding numbers were 499 and 841. In the former year, 18,212 candidates presented themselves for examination, and worked 57,192 separate papers. Of these, 5,454 candidates came from 87 higher class schools. *Education Reports* (1901-2), p. 316 ; (1905-6), p. 853.

the statistics that many still entered the examination merely for individual subjects. Accordingly, in 1905, the Department limited the examination to candidates who had attained at least the age of fourteen, and not only strenuously discouraged the haphazard presentation of pupils in isolated subjects, but stated that every candidate ought to have some definite form of group certificate in view.

We have now traced the developments in the higher grade school, the higher class school, and the leaving certificate examination down to 1905. By this year the number of higher grade schools had greatly increased, and a large number of higher class schools had extended their curricula by the inclusion of courses of instruction in Science and Art.¹ From this point, however, our interest centres in the means adopted by the Department to unify higher instruction—at least up to a certain stage—in the various schools engaged in secondary teaching. The three steps by which this was effected came in consecutive years: in 1905, the ‘normal minimum’ was made practically compulsory upon the higher grade school; in 1906, the intermediate certificate was converted into a ‘curriculum’ certificate, the curriculum to be approved by the Department; in 1907, the Science and Art grant, so far as it applied to higher class schools, was changed into a curriculum grant with the ‘normal minimum’ compulsory for the first three years. It will be necessary to examine these three stages in more detail.

The higher grade school requires no further consideration beyond the fact that, although the ‘normal minimum’ was not made *absolutely* compulsory in the Code of 1905–6, in practice, since the approval of the curriculum lay with the Department, to all intents and purposes it became so. By the same Code specialized courses—whether predominantly scientific, or predominantly commercial, or specially suited

¹ In 1905 there were 51 higher class schools with 6,254 pupils enrolled under the Minute of 1903 in receipt of a total of £17,208 from the Science and Art grant; and 121 higher grade schools with 14,508 pupils in average attendance (first year, 7,937; second year, 4,340; third year and beyond, 2,231), receiving a total of £56,695 in grant, part of which was derived from the Science and Art grant. *Education Report* (1906–7), pp. 3, 622, 930–1.

for girls—were reserved for those who had obtained the intermediate certificate.

The methods adopted by the Department to bring the higher class school into line with the higher grade school in the matter of the 'normal minimum',¹ although equally effective, were not so direct. The first lever to be used was the intermediate certificate, the character of which was changed in 1906, when its future purpose was defined as that of testifying to 'the successful conclusion of a well-balanced course of *general* education suitable for the requirements of pupils who leave school at fifteen or sixteen, or, alternatively, of pupils who, although they continue in attendance until seventeen or eighteen, deem it desirable to devote the last two or three years of their school life to some form of more specialized study—literary, scientific, technical, or commercial'.² This meant that candidates for an intermediate certificate had to complete a three years' course of instruction in an approved school under an approved curriculum, and at the end to submit to an oral and written examination upon all the subjects of this curriculum at one and the same examination. No details were given as to what the Department considered a 'well-balanced course of *general* education', but, as the sequel showed, any curriculum which did not have the 'normal minimum' as its basis had little prospect of meeting with its unreserved approval. Thus, by a dexterous modification of the regulations for the intermediate certificate, the first three years of secondary instruction beyond the qualifying stage gave promise of having a common basis both in the higher grade school and in the higher class school.

Coincident with this change in the character of the intermediate certificate came certain changes in the method of adjudicating a pass or a failure. In the first place, excellence in one subject of the curriculum might be held as compensating for deficiency in another; in the second, fair consideration was to be given to 'the deliberate judgment

¹ See above, p. 261.

² *Circular* 389, March 1906.

of the teachers as to the proficiency of the candidates as shown by their work in school'. In passing, we note that in the same year (1906) the Department adopted a new official nomenclature for the various schools, viz. primary, intermediate, and secondary.¹ Although the distinctions were not absolute, an intermediate school was defined as corresponding in general to a higher grade school, and providing at least a three years' course of secondary instruction beyond the qualifying examination stage; while a secondary school made similar provision for at least a five years' course beyond the same stage, and in general corresponded to a higher class school.

The third step was taken in 1907, when a change was made in the method of distributing the Science and Art grant to higher class schools.² Hitherto, the grant had been made upon certain selected subjects of the curriculum—Science, Drawing, and Manual Instruction—but for the future the whole work of the school, provided due provision was made for the teaching of Science and Art, was to be made the basis of the grant. What is of more importance, however, to our present inquiry was the fact that every higher class school desiring to participate in this grant had to adopt the 'normal minimum' as the basis of its three years' course beyond the qualifying stage, and to submit its curriculum for the approval of the Department. This regulation practically settled the range of subjects in the intermediate course.

While a fair measure of uniformity has thus been introduced in the earlier stages of secondary education in Scottish schools, no effort has been made to enforce a uniform course of study beyond the intermediate certificate stage. We have seen that the Department suggested certain post-intermediate courses in the higher grade school, but not with any intention of restricting individual initiative. In the higher class school, under the new regulations for distributing the Science and Art grant, advanced courses were encouraged by much

¹ *Regulations for the Training of Teachers.*

² *Regulations as to Grants to Secondary Schools* (1907).

higher grants and the opportunity was given to the Managers of the schools of proposing suitable curricula, the only conditions being that the courses should extend over two years at least, that they should contain English as one of the subjects, and that they should be submitted to the Department for approval.

In the following year, in connexion with the leaving certificate examination, more definite steps were taken regarding the post-intermediate course. The principles which had been successfully applied to the intermediate certificate were then applied to the leaving certificate. It was to be a 'curriculum' certificate in which comparative excellence in one subject might compensate for weakness in another, and the active co-operation of the responsible teachers in deciding as to the pass or failure of a pupil was to be secured. Except that English had to be included in any proposed course, every liberty was to be allowed to Managers in framing curricula. But the Department was clear on one point: that in order to qualify for a leaving certificate a pupil 'ought to have received a general education sufficiently broad and yet sufficiently intensive to enable him to enter with profit upon further study at a University level'. These proposals were to take effect in 1910.¹

¹ It is interesting to compare this scheme of intermediate and leaving certificate courses with the system adopted in the French Lycées on their reorganization in 1901. The studies were arranged in two cycles—one of four years (ages, 11–15), and the other of three years. The first cycle offered two parallel courses: Classical, with Latin obligatory from the first year, and optional Greek in the fourth year; and Scientific, with no Latin or Greek, more attention being paid to French, Science, and Drawing. The second cycle provided four groups, of which the characteristic subjects were respectively: (1) Latin and Greek, (2) Latin and Modern Languages, (3) Latin and Science, (4) Modern Languages and Science.

On the satisfactory completion of the first cycle a 'certificate of secondary studies' was granted; at the end of the second course the 'baccalaureate of secondary education'. The important principle was then fully adopted of having the examination committees (*jurys d'examen*) for the baccalaureate composed in part of secondary teachers. Dr. Compayré in *Educational Review*, February 1903.

Thus at last a measure of uniformity of curricula in secondary schools was achieved, and without sacrificing individual liberty of development. Secondary education in Scotland has travelled far since the chaos in the middle of the nineteenth century, but the developments of real importance, so far as the higher class school was concerned, took their origin only in the last decade of the century. When once the progressive movement had started, and Parliament had come to the assistance of the secondary school, it was only a matter of time for commonsense ideas regarding organization to prevail. Although a well-developed organic system of education from the kindergarten to the secondary school may now be said to exist, there still remains a break between the secondary school and the University, in that the work of the one has not yet been brought into organic connexion with the work of the other. If unity of aim is to be maintained, and a fair and legitimate balance preserved among the various elements of the curriculum, the course of study in the secondary school must be more closely linked on to that in the University and other higher institutions. And to this end it is of immediate importance that the University entrance bursary competition should be re-organized and that arrangements should be made by which the 'curriculum' leaving certificate may be accepted in lieu of the University preliminary examination.

This period of ten years is fittingly brought to a close by the Education Act of 1908, the purport of which will be better understood by a further reference to the subject of State aid to secondary education. However laudable may have been the tradition that every parish through its own school should have a direct connexion with the University, one of its less desirable effects had been to delay the fuller development of secondary education and the progress towards the definition of a secondary school course. As it was practically impossible to plant secondary schools in every remote district or parish, and as it was equally impossible to pro-

vide full courses of secondary instruction in small country schools, measures had to be taken to conserve the traditions of the old parish school in other ways. The concentration of secondary education in particular central schools, while undoubtedly making for educational efficiency, obviously placed pupils in outlying districts at a disadvantage as compared with those living in the vicinity of the school, and more especially so when their parents were of limited means. This difficulty had been recognized by the Department when the higher grade school was created, for higher rates of grant had been offered to encourage the founding of such schools in thinly-populated districts. But this did not meet the case entirely. Consequently, soon after the General Aid Grant¹ was added to the grant available for education in Scotland, a sum of £25,000 was allocated to the Secondary Education Committees, to be applied, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Department, for the provision of bursaries or maintenance allowances to assist deserving pupils in acquiring a secondary education. While this grant was primarily intended to assist those whose ultimate intentions were to become teachers, it was expressly enjoined upon the Secondary Education Committees to make provision in their schemes for the education of promising pupils from each parish in the district who had not gained the intermediate certificate, 'regard being had to the population of the parish, the number of separate schools therein, and the number and character of available bursaries other than those granted by the Committees.'²

Turning now to the Education Act of 1908, we note that the main provisions, so far as they affected secondary education, have relation to finance. In the chapter on State aid we gave a brief account of the origin and administration

¹ The 'General Aid Grant' was an addition to the Grant for Education in Scotland, made in view of the increase in the Imperial subsidy under the English Education Act of 1902. The Grant of £25,000 was allocated to the Secondary Education Committees in 1906. The following year it was increased to £40,000, and in 1908 to £60,000. *Minutes for providing for Distribution of General Aid Grant.*

² *Regulations for the Training of Teachers*, Art. 57.

of the various grants applicable to secondary education, and referred to the lack of proper co-ordination among them. The Act of 1908, however, effected a great simplification in the administration of the various sums available for education in Scotland. The Science and Art grant still continued under the administration of the Department; but the Equivalent grant, the Residue grant, and the Secondary and Technical Education grant, together with three other grants¹ which had not been directly applied to purposes of secondary education, were consolidated into one fund—the Education (Scotland) Fund²—to be distributed in accordance with certain fixed principles laid down in the Act.

Incidentally we note that the formation of one fund for education, to be applied to the advancement of elementary, secondary, and even University education on good cause being shown, not only emphasizes the national aspect of Scottish education, but also gives promise of an even closer and more complete organic connexion of its several grades or divisions in the future.

With regard to the distribution of the Education Fund, the principle was adopted of making national, as distinct from local, educational requirements first charges upon the Fund, and among them were enumerated the cost of inspecting and examining secondary and intermediate schools, the expenses in connexion with the leaving certificate examination, and possible subsidies to the Universities. The balance was then to be divided into thirty-nine district education funds—a district being the administrative area of a Secondary Education Committee—in accordance with a scheme of distribution to be prepared by the Department

¹ (a) A fee grant of £40,000 under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890.

(b) A balance under Section 2 (6) of the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892, to be used as a fee grant—approximately £44,000.

(c) The General Aid Grant—approximately, £160,000, after deduction of about £72,000 required for the Fee Grant.

² Amounting in the aggregate to about £500,000 a year.

and submitted to Parliament, in which 'greater aid was to be given to those districts in which per head of population the burden of expenditure on educational purposes approved by the Department was excessive as compared with the valuation of the district'. Each district education fund was to be kept separate from the others, but all were to be under the administration of the Department, by whom all payments, whether to School Boards, Committees, or other bodies, were to be made. With regard to these payments a similar principle was applied to the allocation of the district funds as we have seen applied to the Education Fund: expenditure for general district purposes was put as a first charge. Two of the first charges have direct relation to district intermediate and secondary schools: in the one case, payment of a reasonable proportion of the expenditure incurred in respect of pupils drawn from surrounding parishes was authorized, thus removing a long-standing grievance of which the school managers had repeatedly complained; in the other, payment of a sum which varied according to the excess of expenditure over a definite local rate was provided for, and thus the principle of local aid was again emphasized. Another first charge was a payment to meet the expenses of a district bursary scheme, prepared in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Department, by which duly qualified pupils in each and every part of the district might have assistance for the purpose of attending an intermediate or secondary school or other central institution providing higher education. And, further, should the necessity arise, the Act sanctioned the establishment of hostels, under conditions prescribed by the Department, to provide for junior students,¹ bursars, or other pupils attending intermediate or secondary schools.

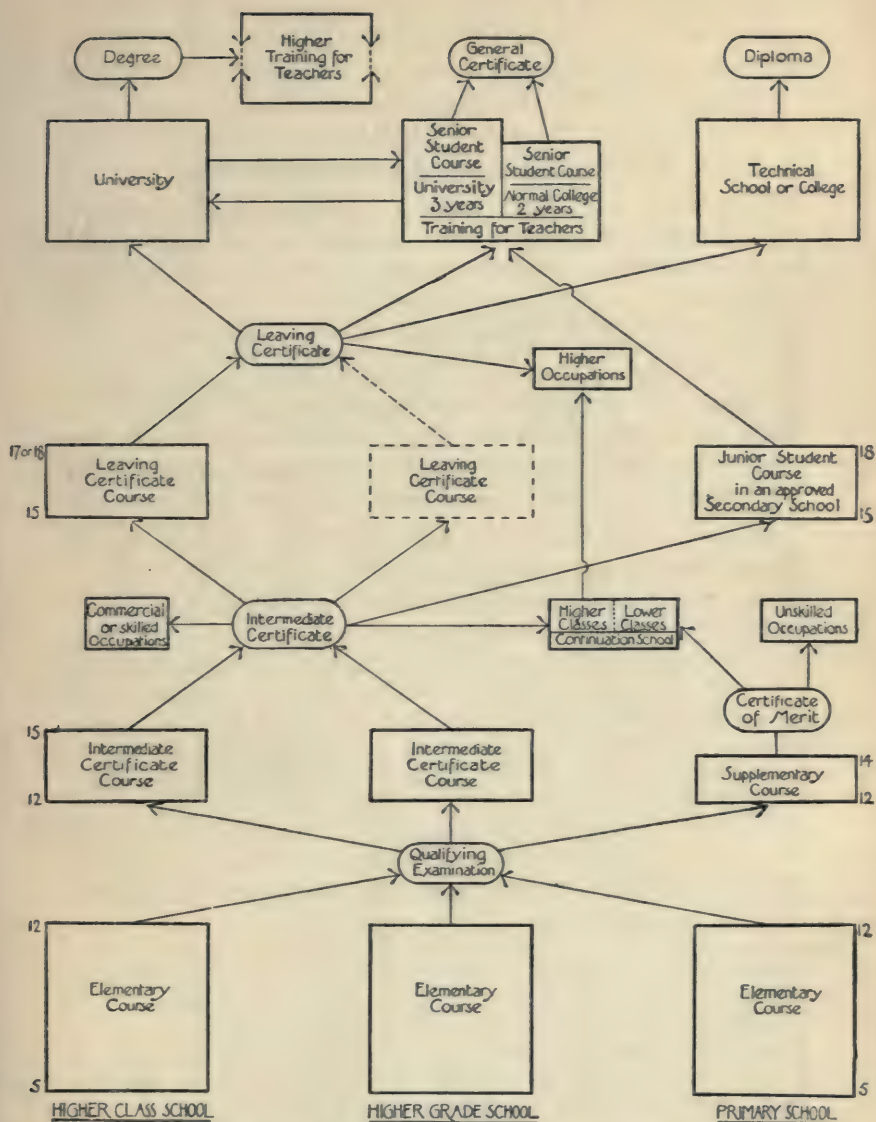
Certain other permissive payments were enumerated, but all such were subject to the approval of the Department. In any year, whatever balance of a district education fund remained had to be distributed among the managers of the schools of the district as an addition to the fee grant.

¹ See Appendix III.

It should be noted that the scope of the duties of the Secondary Education Committees was somewhat enlarged, and a certain power of initiative granted them by the new Act; on the other hand, the direct control of grants such as the Equivalent grant was taken from them. Each Committee, moreover, had not only to submit annual estimates of proposed expenditure out of the relative district education fund in accordance with regulations framed by the Department, but also to keep an account of their annual income and expenditure in a form prescribed by the Department. In other words, all payments from the district education funds which were not definitely fixed by the Act were directly subject to the approval of the Department.

Thus the Scotch Education Department in 1908, besides having practically absolute control over the leaving certificate examination—a powerful instrument, as we have seen, when applied to the moulding of curricula—had, by the new Act, virtually gained command of all the grants for higher education in schools. And the control of these two levers means the control of secondary education in Scotland.

APPENDIX I



APPENDIX II

STATVTA ET LEGES LVDI LITERARII

GRAMMATICORVM ABERDONENSIVM

IN primis, puer ingressus scholas prosternat se humi, genibus flexis salutet Christum, optimum, maximum, humani generis authorem, et Deiparam virginem breui precatiuncula, hoc modo :

Gratias tibi pater caelestis ago, quod praeteritam noctem mihi volueris esse prosperam : precorque vt diem itidem hunc mihi bene fortunes, ad tuam gloriam et animae meae salutem : et tu qui es vera lux, occasum nesciens, sol aeternus, omnia viuificans, alens, exhilarans, digneris illucescere menti meae, ne vsquam in vllum impingam peccatum, sed ductu tuo perueniam ad vitam aeternam. Amen.

Iesu esto mihi Iesus, et spiritu principali confirma me.

Septima lucis hora, incipiat Pars, qua absoluta, ingrediatur praeceptor, castiget aut verbo aut verberibus delinquentes : castigatione facta, fiat omnium lectionum praelectio publica, per praeceptorem ipsum, hora lucis octaua. Praelectione absoluta, ientatum festinent pueri. Priuata hypodidascalorum praelectio, in singulis suis classibus sit hora lucis decima : vndecima vero, aut sesquiundecima, sit copia egenis condiscipulis eundi in urbem, itidem oppidanis paulo post, si qui sint.

Secunda archididascali praelectio Terentij, Virgilij, aut Ciceronis, sit sesquiundecima iis qui adesse debent. Denique vbi sonuerit hora meridiana pueris prandendi fiat potestas.

Statuta pomeridiana.

Ante horam pomeridianam secundam, sint singuli praesto in ludo literario ad audiendas classium praelectiones.

Semper vnus hypodidascalorum per vices praesto sit in gymnasio, qui notet errores, Latini sermonis ineptias, et minus iusto studiis incumbentes. Viderint etiam ipsi, ne quod alios facientes ex officio repraehendere debent, ipsi committant.

Lucis verò pomeridiana quarta, post campanae sonum recenseant pueri suis instructoribus pensum illius diei.

Exeant bini ad naturae officia cum signo aut baculo : licitum non erit cuiquam exire, nisi coacto, ante reditum eorum quibus eundi copia facta fuit.

Gymnasiarcha ipse, vnam aut alteram audiet classem praeter suam supremam, cum sibi sedeat animo.

Disputationes vesperi a quinta ad sextam noctis horam fiant ; qua cognita Deo Opt. Max. preces canere festinent.

Pythagoricum vnus anni silentium elementariis ac neophytis sit iniunctum.

Confessionis tabulam ediscant.

Numerandi artem modice praelibent.

Loquantur omnes Latinè Graecè Hebraicè Gallicè Hybernicè, nunquam vernaculè, saltem cum his qui Latinè noscunt.

Singuli singulas gestent ferulas.

Familia extraneis sit interdicta.

Nullus de grege Grammaticorum cum Dialectico agat.

Leges.

Non licebit commutare, nec rem alienam emere, nec propriam alienare, inconsulto archididascalo, aut eius suffraganeo.

Ne ludas sponsione libri, aut pecuniae, seu vestium, aut prandij ; sed pro deposito, certent saltem prouectiores coriaceis ligaturis vel aciculis. Ne ludus aleae sit vetamus ; aleae lucro gaudebunt pauperes.

A conspectu hypodidascalorum ludere non licebit.

Leges animaduersionis.

Nullus alteri faciet iniuriam verbo nec opere, quam si laesus ferat modestè conquerendo, offendens puniatur. At si contendendo sese mutuis iurgiis altercationibusque commouerint, vterque poenas luat. At qui pro verbis dat verbera, solus verberator det poenas. Si qui autem aetate prouectiores, peccando in praemissis, delinquendi occasionem iunioribus dederint, duplici poena mulctentur, quia peccant et aliis peccandi ansam dant, quibus alioqui animus peccandi non fuit.

Hi castigandi veniunt.

Non audientes dicto. Serò matutina luce gymnasium ingredientibus. Nescientes dicere Partem, cum lectionis textu. Mouentes citra necessitatem de loco in locum. Discurrentes. Colloquium tempore praelectionum tenentes. Serò redeuntes a ientaculo et prandio. Moram trahentes in naturae officio. Vernaculè loquentes. Absentes diu ab auditorio. Authores mali.

Quum neminem leges ignorare oporteat, haec nostrae scholae statuta excudenda curauimus, quo illorum certior sit cognitio, et paratior probatio; et ut qui sub nostra ferula militant, eo officiosiores nomophylaces esse velint, quo sunt hae nomothetae iam typis excusae per nos singulis factae notiores, quam ut earum ignorantiam possint praetexere.

Officium discipulorum ex Quintiliano.

Discipuli praeceptorem suum non minus quam ipsa studia ament: at parentem esse non quidem corporum sed mentium credant: in ipsos coetus scholarum laeti et alacres conueniant: emendati non irascantur: laudati gaudeant: ut sint charissimi, studio promereantur; nam ut illorum officium est docere, sic horum praebere se dociles: alioqui neutrum sine altero sufficit.

Officium adolescentis ex Cicerone.

Est adolescentis maiores natu vereri, ex hisque eligere optimos et probatissimos, quorum consilio atque autoritate nitatur: ineuntis enim aetatis inscitia, senum constituenda et regenda prudentia est. Maxime autem haec aetas a libidinibus arcenda est, exercendaque in labore patientiaque et animi et corporis, ut eorum et in bellicis et ciuilibus officiis vigeat industria. Atque etiam quum relaxare animos et dare se iucunditati volent, caueant intemperantiam, meminerint verecundiae: quod erit facilius, si huiusmodi quoque rebus maiores natu interesse velint. Adolescentum aetas prona est ad peccandum; et nisi maiorum exemplis autoritateque contineatur, facile semper in deteriora prolabitur. Adolescentia enim libidinibus aestuat, aetas media iactatur ambitione, senectus cupiditate auaritiaque consumitur.

Officium adolescentis ex Terentio.

Nouitius tyro in militiam literariam ascriptus, has quinque Pamphili condiciones sibi procuret. Prima, facile perferre ac pati eos debet, cum quibus versatur. Secunda, vna cum his sese dedat. Tertia, eorum studiis obsequatur. Quarta, sit aduersus nemini. Quinta, nunquam praeponat se aliis, nam quo sublimior fuerit, eo submissius se gerat. Ita viuendo, facillime sine inuidia laudem inueniet, et amicos parabit.

Hoc Fac Et Viues.

Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v, pp. 399-402.

APPENDIX III

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN SCOTLAND¹

IN 1905-6 a new system of training teachers, in which the secondary school takes an important place, was inaugurated. By a Minute dated January 30, 1905, Committees for the training of teachers were established in connexion with the four Universities, and to each was assigned a Province consisting of several counties. Each Committee consists of representatives of various educational bodies in the Province—University, College, School Board, Secondary School, Training College (if transferred to the Committee)—three co-opted teachers, and a Chief Inspector acting as the Department's Assessor. Its functions are to provide for the suitable training of teachers, including teachers of secondary schools, and to establish courses for the further instruction of teachers in actual service. Each Committee appoints its own officials, and arranges its own scheme of courses, an estimate of the cost of which is submitted annually to the Department which, since the expenditure is met by grants under the Code or from the Education (Scotland) Fund, closely supervises all disbursements. The Committees determine the fees to be paid by the students—to whom they have the power of making maintenance allowances—and may establish or subsidize hostels for their residence. Public or endowed schools in receipt of any form of State aid may be utilized by the Committees as practising schools, the Department determining the payments to be made for their use.

As part of the new system, centres for the preliminary training of the students were established in connexion with secondary schools in various parts of the country. The junior students, as they are called at this stage, are nominated by the relative Secondary Education Committee—by whom a maintenance allowance may be

¹ For the history of the training of teachers in Scotland see *History of the Training of Primary and Secondary Teachers in Scotland*, by Dr. Morgan, Principal of the Edinburgh Church of Scotland Training College, and *Education Reports* (1905-6), pp. 597-9, in which a *résumé* is given by Dr. Scougal, H.M. Senior Chief Inspector for Scotland.

granted—from candidates who have gained the intermediate certificate and have shown promise of teaching ability. Their training extends over three years (or two under certain circumstances) and includes instruction in the subjects of a broad secondary education and in the art of teaching. The junior student certificate attests the satisfactory completion of the course.

Thereafter, the student enters, as a senior student, upon a course of training under a Provincial Committee, in which prominence is given to the purely professional aspect of the training. The attainment of the general certificate is the primary aim of a senior student, but facilities may be granted to the more capable students for acquiring a University degree in addition. On gaining the general certificate the student is required to give two years' satisfactory service in a school approved by the Department before being granted the permanent certificate.

Teachers of higher subjects, and specialists, must acquire an extended knowledge of the particular subject they profess, and undergo at least one year's professional training under a Provincial Committee with special reference to the teaching of that subject. A subsequent probationary year in some approved school is required by the Department before they are recognized as efficient.¹

¹ *Regulations for the Training of Teachers.*



English Miles

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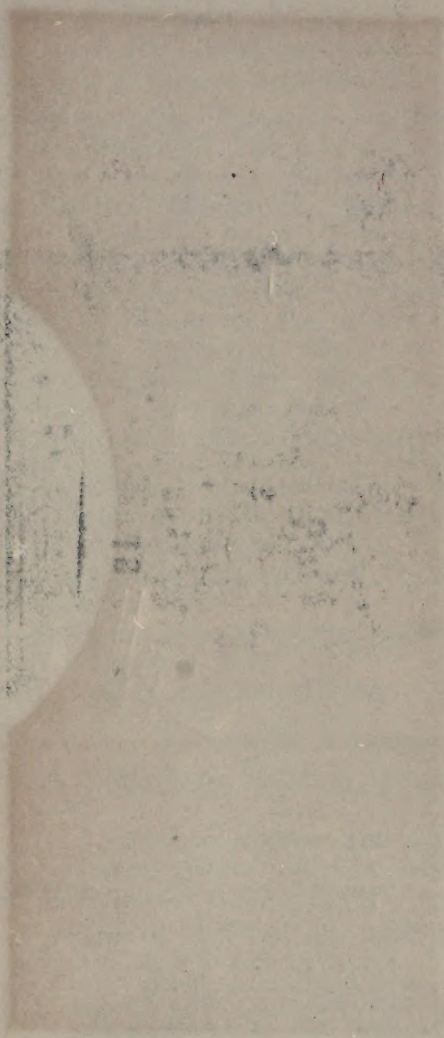
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